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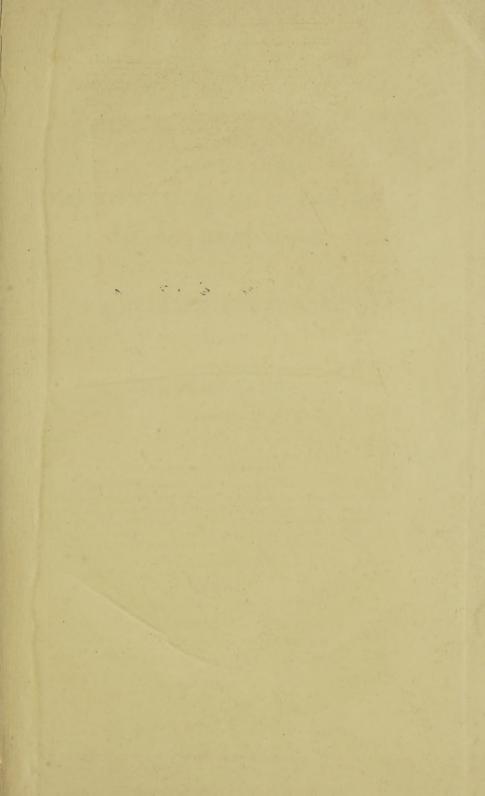
SAMUEL AGNEW,

OF PHILADELPHIA, PA

Letter...

march 25 th 1858.

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CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES

OF THE

TRINITY AND INCARNATION

Considered and Maintained

ON THE

PRINCIPLES OF JUDAISM.

BY THE

REV. JOHN OXLEE.

VOL. II.

Quemadmodum enim unus idemque homo, si Deo mane aliud offerat, aliud vespere, pro congruentia diurni temporis, non Deum mutat, non Religionem; sicut nec salutem, qui alio modo mane, alio vespere salutat. Ita in universo tractu seculorum, cum aliud oblatum est ab antiquis sanctis, aliud ab eis qui nunc sunt offertur, non humana presumptione, sed autoritate divina temporibus congrua sacra mysteria telebrantur, non Deus aut Religio commutatur.

Augustinus ad deografias.

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1820.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES

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CHRISTIAN DOCTRINES,

&c. &c.

PROPOSITION III.

THAT THE SECOND PERSON OF THE TRINITY WAS IN-CARNATED OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

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That the whole doctrine of the incarnation, and, I might add, the whole mystery of the Christian revelation, is comprised in this single proposition, That the second Person in the Godhead was incarnated of the virgin Mary; there cannot arise a doubt with those, who have considered the subject. By the very expression, The second Person of the Trinity, is clearly presupposed, that in the sameness of the Godhead subsists a trinity of persons; and when we subjoin to it its form of attribution, and say, Was incarnated of the virgin Mary, we evidently assert, that Jesus Christ, Vol. II.

the son of that blessed virgin, was the second personality of the Godhead thus incarnated, that is, manhooded, if I may be allowed the expression: for, though the word, incarnated, is certainly derived from the term, caro, flesh; yet, in speaking of this mystery, the Latin, caro, as well as the Greek, σαρξ, must be received with the same latitude of interpretation as the Hebrew, בשר, which is used not only for, flesh, but also for, flesh and spirit, the constituent parts of man; as when we read of all flesh, that is, of all mankind, or, of every thing living, having corrupted his way upon the face of the earth. Now, as I have proved to demonstration, that the second personality of the Godhead is no other than the Wisdom, the Law, the Word, or the Metatron, of the Jewish church; it is plain, that, to establish the doctrine of the Incarnation on the principles of Judaism, I have nothing more to effect than to show, from true and unquestionable premises, that this Wisdom, Law, Word, or Metatron, of the Jewish church, was actually incarnated of the virgin Mary, that is, was really the very person of Jesus Christ, her first, and, as the members of the Catholic church have generally maintained, her only child and son, the Lord our Saviour.

Before I proceed, however, to the confirmation of the proposition laid down, it may be proper to state, in terms more full and circumstantial, the

nature of the doctrine. In affirming, then, that the Word of Jehovah was made flesh, or became man, we profess to inculcate, that this divine subsistency descended from heaven, and, by the powerful co-operation of the Holy Ghost, assumed in the womb of the blessed virgin, the nature and form of man: for, though it was the Word, and not the Holy Spirit, who took upon him our nature; yet, since all the three persons of the Godhead are inseparably united, and, since every display of divine power in the natural world is justly attributed to the spirit of God, we affirm with the Evangelist, that Jesus was conceived of the Holy Ghost, that is, through the instrumentality of the Holy Ghost, whose energy in overshadowing the virgin was such as to cause her to conceive without the knowledge of the species. It is further to be remarked, too, that the Word of Jehovah did not assume the person, but the nature, of a man: for, though, metaphysically speaking, neither form nor essence can exist, except in individual beings; and, if there were no individual men, there could be no such thing as either man or manhood; yet, seeing that to subsist, or to exist of itself, is essential to personality; and, that the manhood assumed by the Word did not subsist, or exist of itself, but was in the womb of the virgin who alone did subsist, or exist of herself; it follows of necessity, that what the divinity assumed of the

virgin could not be a human person, but only human nature: and hence it will equally follow, that Christ in his personal character is the eternal Son of the cirrual Father; for, though by the act of the incarnation, the Word became flesh, a something which it was not before; yet, forasmuch as previous to that act he subsisted personally, without any beginning of time; and, as the flesh assumed was not a person, but only a something adventitious to that which was already a person, and essentially constituting that person perfect man as well as perfect God; it is more certain than certainty itself, not only, that Christ has two natures in one and the same person, but, that his oneness of person has subsisted from eternity. Moreover, as the human nature of Christ is asserted to be perfect and entire, it must necessarily consist both of body and soul; the former of which he unquestionably derived from the womb of the virgin; but whence he derived the latter, whether in the same way with all mankind, or in some other manner peculiar to himself, is a question which St. Austin himself has not dared to determine. Four possible ways there are of accounting for the origin of human souls; either, that they are severally created from nothing at the time of being embodied; or, that, like so many streams, they emanate from the parent in the act of generation; or, that they previously subsist in their own state, and

so enter into their respective bodies at the time of conception; or, lastly, that they are portions of the soul of the world infused into bodies, and which, on the dissolution of those bodies by death, return to the source from which they are derived, and are identified with it. The first of these, by some hap or other, has generally been the favourite opinion of the Christian church; though it is contrary to the sense of all antiquity, to the best scriptural evidence that can be brought to bear on the subject; and is, in every other respect whatever, highly irrational and absurd. The second has its advocates to this day; was the doctrine of Tertullian; and, if I rightly interpret St. Austin, was strenuously insisted on by many in the first ages of Christianity. The third approaches somewhat to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, is my own opinion, as well as that of the whole Jewish church; and is clearly attested in certain passages of the New Testament. It was likewise the belief of Origen, Proclus, and Vincentius, as well as of several philosophizing Christian sects in the early ages of the church; and was embraced by Socrates and his followers, as the tradition of the ancients. The fourth has been the opinion, chiefly, of certain Greek and Arabic philosophers; and is deservedly exploded both by Jews and Christians. Now, by whichever of those ways we proceed, in reference to Christ, to deduce the origin of the human soul, care must be taken not to constitute of his human nature a real personality distinct from that of the Word; and at the same time to prove him, with respect to his manhood, the literal and actual offspring of the seed of David; the one being the uniform language of Scripture, and the other the unanimous decision of the whole Catholic church.

Though the complexion of this doctrine be such, that, with the enemies of the gospel, it has ever been styled the summit of absurdity and blasphemy, and even with the professors of Christianity themselves has generally been regarded as the triumph of faith over our reason and understanding; I cannot be induced to consider it in that light, but actually regard it in perfect consistency with the clearest deductions of natural reason; and, on admitting a revelation of the divine will to exist at all, deem it the necessary result of that happy approximation, which has mutually obtained between man and his Maker. The safest, however. as well as the most satisfactory way of concluding, how far the tenet in question is capable of being reconciled with the dictates of the understanding, is to argue from analogy. From the economy manifested in the, עולם קטון, or microcosm of man, in which an immaterial though inferior spirit substantially resides; the transition is easy to that of the, עולם נדול, the vast and spacious world, of which we all severally form the individual parts, and in

which the mind or spirit of God is the grand and sovereign director. Now, with the human mind, the general law of action is to apply each member of the body, in which it is present, to the various purposes for which it is adapted; and, consequently, to accomplish its designs always with the properest instruments. Thus, if I wish to descry a distant object, I apply the eye; if to catch a distant sound, I turn the ear; neither of which organs, separately, can perform both those offices, but only its own; and is as much unconcerned in that action, in which the other is engaged, as though it formed, originally, no part of the body. If to the completion of my designs the organs, with which I am personally furnished, are less sufficient, I lay hold of others, which, from their not being appropriated to myself in particular, may be denominated foreign or extraneous instruments. Thus, in rescuing an insect from the peril of drowning, finding the finger inconveniently large, I apply the point of a pin, or any thing similar, which may chance to offer itself at the time it is wanted. But whether my own or extraneous organs are employed in the accomplishment of an action; the sameness of the mind, which directs and applies them, when, and in what manner, it pleases, is universally admitted. It is the self same spirit, which moves the little finger, that moves every member of the body besides; yea, the very brain itself, in

which the sensorium, or imaginary seat of our intellectual faculties, is supposed to be situated. For, though, from the pre-eminent organization of the head, and from its peculiar fitness for incessant action and cogitation, the mind appears to be there present and stationed always, as it were in a citadel not to be abandoned till death; yet it is equally present in the minutest joint which turns at its command; and whilst it manifests its energy and power in the most insignificant of its bodily organs, it no less displays its wisdom and counsel by the variety of its operations. Supposing, then, what I think has been usually conceded, that the Spirit of God is as present in every part of the universe, as that of man is in every part of the body; that, in subserviency to its own designs, it moves and directs every existent being, whether organized or unorganized, even to the smallest atom; what unreasonableness, I would ask, can the most incredulous find in the assertion, That the Son of God was pleased to manifest himself in the flesh, that he has vouchsafed to demonstrate his presence in the form and likeness of a man, with the view of meliorating our condition, and of affording to us a more full and perfect revelation of his will; especially, when upon inquiry it will be found, that this was the only proper method that could have been devised for the completion of so august and so gracious a design? Behold the infatuation of the

infidel in the most eminent degree! He can believe, that the Deity created the worlds out of nothing, that he still continues to uphold them, and to be present in every part of them. He can subscribe to the position of the philosopher, that, in the formation of the solar system, the arm of the Almighty must have projected the planets at least half the semidiameter of the sun, in an horizontal direction, to prevent them from sinking and falling into its orb. He coincides with the natural theologist, that, in the original construction and subsequent preservation of the various species of beings, the intention and design of the Creator are abundantly manifest. Nay, such is his credulity in natural theology, that the instinct, whereby the irrational parts of the creation are impelled to take care of their young, and to perform other acts of prudence and foresight, is by his own confession given to them by God. Nevertheless, this very man will oppose Christianity on the ground, that the Incarnation is beyond the bounds of human credibility, and abhorrent from the dictates of his reason and understanding. But, surely, right reason would lead us to conclude, that, as the Deity, whenever it is for the benefit of his creatures, interposes miraculously, that is, does not disdain to be present in the smallest of the works of his own hands, whether organized or unorganized, but moves and directs the whole of them by the power

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of his spirit, and renders them subservient to the noblest purposes; it cannot be any indignity to his nature to affirm, that, with the view of raising the condition of fallen man, and of placing him in a capacity to reap the fruits of his good or ill conduct, he deigned to manifest himself to us in the person of Christ Grant, then, a God who takes care of his creatures, and who has vouchsafed to mankind a revelation of his will; and the doctrine of the Incarnation will be as rational, as it is sublime.

The design, however, of this performance not being to call to our aid the sanctions of reason, but to establish the truth of our Proposition on the principles of Judaism; I shall now proceed to allege such arguments as more immediately fall under that description of character. The plain doctrine of the Proposition is, that the second personality of the Godhead was incarnated of the Virgin Mary, and manifested himself to the world in the person of Jesus Christ. This I shall endeavour to substantiate, from the reasonableness and consistency of the thing itself, as deduced from what we already know of the nature and properties of the Supreme Being; from the sufficiency of the motive to incline the Deity to consummate the act; from the many predictions of the inspired penmen in reference to the event; from the accomplishment of those very predictions in the person of Jesus

Christ, the son of the Virgin Mary; together with such other proofs as may occur to my mind in prosecuting the subject.

CHAPTER II.

To the Jew, whose scriptures are replete with familiar addresses and personal manifestations of Jehovah to the patriarchs, and whose mythology, if literally understood, consist of tales more abhorrent from common sense than the fables of Hesiod: the Incarnation of the Word ought not to appear as either monstrous or incredible. For, when we read in the Talmud of God wearing the phylacteries or parchments in the same manner with the Israelites; of his consuming the first three hours of the day in studying the law, the second in executing judgment, the third in catering for the world, and the fourth in making marriages; but above all, when we are told, that on the moon expostulating with him for having not created her equal to the sun, he requested the monthly sacrifice to be offered as an atonement for his sin; and that on a certain occasion, when disputing with the devils, he was fairly overpowered and beaten in the argument; we certainly have a right to inculcate on the part of Jehovah one single act of conde-

scension and familiarity, without being charged by the Jews with impiety and blasphemy. Though these talmudic stories admit of an explanation not altogether incompatible with our notions of the Supreme Being; still they offer a much greater indignity, and are far more derogatory, to his divine nature than the article of the Incarnation; which, if we believe him to be at all attentive to the happiness of mankind, supplies us with more matter for extolling and magnifying his name, than any one thing besides. Before, however, I begin to enforce the doctrine analogically, from comparing it with other acts of the divine condescension and humiliation, as recorded in the Scriptures; there is a point of some importance to be minutely handled, and to which the attention of the reader is respectfully invited.

In contemplating the various relations in which man may be supposed to stand to his Maker, the first thing which strikes us, is the declaration of Moses, that he was made in the image and likeness of God:* ויאמר אלהים נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו וירדו בכל הרמש ויאמר אלהים נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו וירדו "And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our own likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every reptile which

^{*} Genesis, i. 26.

creepeth upon the earth." From the consideration, that God himself is perfectly incorporeal and spiritual, the great body of interpreters, Jewish as well as Christian, have expounded the divine image and likeness, in which man was made, of his intellectual and spiritual part, only; and more especially, of the dominion and sovereignty with which he was invested over the beings of this lower world; there being imagined some resemblance between God and man in their respective dynasties, the one exercising his sway in the heavens, and the other upon the earth. But will this interpretation of the text bear to be examined? I believe, it will not. There is no sense in considering the exercise of terrestrial dominion as explicative of the image and likeness of God, because that were to confound the manner, in which man was created, with the design or purpose, for which he was created; not to mention, that, though the exercise of terrestrial dominion may well be thought an image or likeness of the manner, in which God exercises his supremacy in the heavens; yet it cannot be called an image or likeness of God himself; as these are not co-ordinates, the one being a person, but the other the property, or the prerogative, of a person. Besides, had that been the resemblance intended by the inspired penman, he would have introduced the Deity. saying, 'Let us make man, that he may be in our image and likeness;' but, since he says, "Let us

make man in our own image, after our own likeness," he intimates the mode or manner in which the work was to be executed; and then, subjoining over what parts of the creation the species was to exercise controul, he signifies the purpose of their being so created, and the lordly privileges with which they should be invested after they were so created.

Nor will the other interpretation, that the image or likeness refers exclusively to his soul or rational part, bear stricter investigation. To say nothing of the doctrine of the Jewish church, that the souls are cut out from under the Throne of Glory; the vital and rational part of man, Moses plainly informs us, was not made at all, but breathed into his nostrils by God Almighty, as soon as his body was formed from the ground: unless we should choose to contend, that to breathe into, is not to impart an afflatus already existing, but to create one out of nothing, for the purpose of being inspired. This, to be sure, would be one way in which the text might be wrested to accord with the interpretation; but, with what colour of propriety, I leave to others to determine.

The term צלם, image, cannot possibly be used for the representation of any form purely spiritual; but denotes precisely what we understand by the term, image, or, effigy, in our own language; and, as it respects always some specific bodily figure, without any regard whatever to the rationality of

the thing represented, it may be meant as well of a shell-fish as of Jupiter himself. Maimonides, however, has proceeded to allege some arguments to prove, that it is employed for the representation of a thing in the manner it exists, whether it be a corporeal or a spiritual substance, or a compound of both. What these arguments are, it is our business to consider.

In the first place he observes, that, to express the external form of any person or thing, the proper term to be used in Hebrew is, תאר, Thoar; for the proof of which he adduces several examples. But this criticism of the learned Rabbi is wholly misplaced. The term, האר, Thoar, it is true, denotes the external form of any person or thing: but, then, it is of individual persons or things only: whereas the term, צלם, Tselem, as I have already remarked, is used to express the external form of any person or thing, regarded specifically; so that, whilst the latter is rightly translated by, image; the former may, and ought to be, rendered by, look, or, appearance. So, in the first book of Samuel, Saul asks the witch of Endor, מה תארו, what form the person was of, whom she saw rising up; not what specific figure he wore, for that was understood to be human; but what look, or appearance, he had; and she replied, That he was an old man attired in a mantle. In the book of Judges, the term has the same signification. "Then said

he unto Zeba and Zalmunna, What manner of men were they, whom ye slew at Tabor? And they answered, As thou art, so were they; each, כתאר, after the form of the children of a king;" that is, each of them had the look and appearance of a young prince. So likewise in Isaiah, where the Messias is spoken of, we read, לא תאר לו ולא הדר, "He hath no form nor comeliness;" which is not to be expounded of his wanting a human figure, but of his having no dignified or personable appearance. To state, therefore, with Maimonides, that in Hebrew the term, תאר, Thoar, denotes the external figure of a person or thing, is to argue irrelevantly to the matter in hand; because being used for the look or aspect of an individual, and not for the representation of any specific form or figure, it could not possibly have been substituted in the text before us for, צלם, Tselem: as that would have been to make man the portraiture, not the image of the Supreme Being.

In confirmation, however, of the opinion, that it may refer to the rational as well as to the corporeal part of man, he has adduced an instance from the seventy-third Psalm, supposed to be in point. The psalmist is there complaining of the prosperity of the wicked; but presently comforts himself with the assurance, that their iniquity shall be punished, saying: "As a dream, when one awaketh; so, O Lord, when thou awakest, thou shalt despise באלמם

their image," that is, says the learned Rabbi, their soul, or, rational part. But nothing can be more apparent, than that the term, image, in this place, has reference to the bodily, not to the spiritual, form of the wicked. In a dream, we often behold, or rather fancy, we behold, the most terrific monsters in the attitude to kill us, and are overwhelmed with horror and trepidation to escape; but in the morning, when we awake, notwithstanding that the frightful image is still fresh in the recollection, we despise it as a phantom that has no power to hurt us. So is Jehovah in respect of the wicked. Like to the man who awakes and contemns the dire image which has disturbed him in his dream, he shall despise their dire form, and menacing aspect. That this is the plain sense of the Psalmist, every reader must acknowledge.

The learned author of Medrash Pinehas very justly observes: * רק דענין צלם הונה על כל דבר הניכר But the term Tselem, מה הוא בעבור צורתו: "But the term Tselem, which we cannot but know what it is, by reason of its form or shape." In this manner, wherever it occurs in the Scriptures, it will be found to have reference only to bodily figure. The images of the emerods which the Philistines were ordered to get made to accompany the ark, were nothing but bodily figures. The images of the Canaanites, which the children

^{*} Medrash Pinchas, Part II. fol. 16, col. 1.

of Israel were commanded to destroy; the images of Baal, said to have been broken in pieces; and the golden image of Nebuchadnezzer, were nothing, surely, but bodily figures. The image of Adam, in which he is said to have begot his own son, Seth, can refer to nothing except to his own specific bodily figure. In short, the term has always this signification, and no other; it is perfectly univocal; nor has the Hebrew language any term, whatever, that is synonymous with it.

That the soul or spirit of man is a particle of the divinity, that in its form and essence it resembles the Supreme Being, and that this is the only natural comparison which may be instituted between man and his Maker, I readily grant. The smallest particle of sand, in that it is material and globular, may well be said to be in the form and likeness of the earth, if not of the whole fabric of the universe itself. But this will not set aside the argument, that, by the expression, the image and likeness of God, we are to understand some specific bodily figure, as well as some active intellegency residing in that figure, according to the plain sense and tenor of the sacred text; as God did not say, "Let us make a human soul in our image and likeness;" but, "Let us make man," a being compounded both of body and soul: and, though the terms, image, and likeness, may here by a synechdoche be employed to signify the whole of the man, the soul as well as the

body; yet we cannot, without doing the utmost violence as well to the principles of language, as to the plain statements of Scripture, exclude from their import the idea of bodily figure; that being essential, if not to the term, likeness, at least to the term, image, as I have fully demonstrated.

That this is the true and necessary meaning of the text, I do not scruple to affirm; but as it carries with it a doctrine, which will be painfully digested by some stomachs, and instantly rejected by others, I shall support it by vouchers and authorities to which the Christian, no less than the Jew, ought to pay deference and respect. First of all Moses himself gives the best sanction to the doctrine, where, in laying down the penal law of homicide, he grounds it on the position, that man was moulded in the image of his Maker : * שפך דם האדם באדם דמו " Whoso shed- ישפד כי בצלם אלהים עשה את האדם: deth man's blood, by man shall his own blood be shed; for in the image of God made he man." This, I say, is a strong corroboration of the truth of our argument. For, since in the case of murder it is the body, and not the soul, which suffers the indignity; it would have been highly impertinent and absurd to have assigned as the reason for a retaliation of punishment, that man was made in the image of God, except that image had comprehended the body as well as the soul of the man. That such

was the belief of the ancient Jewish fathers, the Talmud at this day affords competent evidence: * הכל בפני שרה כקוף בפני אדם שרה בפני חוה כקוף בפני אדם חוה בפני אדם כקוף בפני אדם אדם בפני שכינה כקות בפני אדם: שופריה דרב כהנא מעין שופריה דרב ודרב מעין בר' אבהו דר' אבהו מעין דיעקב אבינו דיעקב אבינו מעין "Every :דארם הראשון מעין דשכינה: human being, in comparison of Sarah, was as an ape in comparison of a man; Sarah, in comparison of Eve, was as an ape in comparison of a man; Eve, in comparison of Adam, was as an ape in comparison of a man; Adam, in comparison of the Habitation, was as an ape in comparison of a man. The beauty of Rab Cahana resembled the beauty of Rab, the beauty of Rab resembled the beauty of R. Abhu, the beauty of R. Abhu resembled that of our father Jacob, the beauty of our father Jacob resembled that of the first man, the beauty of the first man resembled that of the Habitation." This testimony I have produced not for the sake of maintaining with the Gemara, that all these illustrious personages were as handsome as they are asserted to have been; but for the purpose of demonstrating, that with the ancient fathers the specific bodily form of the Metatron and of the Habitation, that is to say, of God himself, was believed to be the same with that of the first man; otherwise, no personal comparison could have been instituted between

^{*} Bava Batra, Perek III.

them. Upon this principle alone, the author of Caphtor Upherach elucidates a very curious saying of R. Meir, That, whenever a man is mutilated in his form, the Habitation exclaims; I am impaired in my head! I am impaired in my arm!:* או ירצה לומר קלני לשון קלון ובזיון ולהיות כי האדם עשוי בצלם אלהים ואומר שפך דם האדם ונו' וכתיב לא תלין נבלתו על העץ כי קללת אלהים תלוי וגומר ואמרו זכרונם לברכה משל לשני אחים תאומי' שהיו דומים זה לזה אחד נעשה מלד ואחד נתפס ללסטיות ונתלה כל הרואה אותו אומר המלך תלוי והאדם הוא בדיוקנו של מקום עכ" צוה לקבור אותו ביום ההוא על כן בהשתפך דם הרשע אומר קלני מראשי שהוא דומה בדיוקנו קלני מזרועי כאילו חסר חו"ש כח השפעתו וגבורתו וזרועו וכ"ש בצדיקים שהם יותר מתדמים לו בצורתם ובצלמם בתורה ובמצות ובמעשים "In other words the import of the expres- : טובים sion, קלני, may be that of ignominy and contempt: forasmuch as man is made in the image of God, and the Scripture saith, He that sheddeth man's blood, &c. and there is written again, Thou shalt not suffer his carcase to remain all night upon the tree; for he that is hung is the curse of God, &c. not to mention the parable of our fathers of blessed memory concerning the twin brothers so exactly like one another, that the one of them being made a king, but the other apprehended for robbery and hung; every one who saw him exclaimed, The king is hung. So, because man is in the

^{*} Caphtor Upherach, fol. 70, col. 2.

image of the Supreme Being, therefore the Scripture orders him to be buried on the very day of his execution. For these reasons, I say, on the blood even of a wicked man being shed, the Habitation exclaims, I am impaired in my head! as he resembles him in his image: I am impaired in my arm! as though, what God forbid, he were deprived of the virtue of his influx, of his might, and of his arm. But if he so exclaims on account of a wicked man, much more does he do it on account of the righteous, who render themselves still more like him in their form and image by the law, the precepts, and good works." To these considerations may be added, that R. Isaac Abarbinel, in enforcing the observance of sepulteral rites, grounds it on the received opinion, that man was created in the image of God: * אמנם מי שאין לו קוברי' ואינו בעמיו היה הכהן מחוייב בקבורתו כי בצלם אלחים עשה את האדם ואין כבודו ית' שיהיה האדם בצלמו כדומן על פני האדמה: "But whosoever had none to bury him, and was not amongst his own people, the priest was under the obligation to bury him; for in the image of God made he man, and it would have been a dishonour to God, blessed be he, that man, being in his own image, should have lain like dung upon the surface of the earth." So more fully in another place: † ואמנם מצד המורכב הוא בבחינת כבודו וענינו

^{*} Com. on the Pentateuch, fol. 208, col. 3. Hanov. ed. 1710. † Ibid. fol. 64, col. 3.

שבהיות האד' במחונה אלדית מתואר והוא מעון לשכינה כמו שוכר החבר למלך הכוזר בעבור החכמה והדבוק האלדי ושאר המעלו' אשר לו בחיים הנה אחרי מותו יקבל קלון מתמיד וחרפה רצופה בהיותו מושלך ארצה כפגר מובס סחוב והשלך טוב ממנו הכלב החי וכדי בזיון וקצף לצלם אלדי' אשר נברא בו ואיה חכמתו ואיה כבודו ואיה ממשלתו ושולטנותו עד שמפני זה לא רצה ית' שירא' איש מבני ישראל את אהרן במותו אלא משה אחיו ואלעור בנו ונתקדש זה יותר מזה שלא ראה אותו אדם במותו ולא ידע איש את קבורתו לואת הסבה בעצמה כדי שלא יתבוה בעיני רואיו במותו הנה מפני זה הוצרכה הקבורה למת בבחינת בבודו כדי שלא יראה אותו אדם בסרחונו ובאשו ועפושו: "Lastly, in respect of his being a compound, that is to say, in consideration of his glory and nature; for man being fashioned and delineated by the compass of God, and made a dwelling for the Habitation, as the philosopher observes to king Cozar; because of his wisdom, adherence to the divinity, and the many other dignified properties which he possesses, whilst living, he would evidenty after death incur lasting ignominy and perpetual reproach, were he to be cast to the earth, a carcase to be trodden upon and dragged about, the very dog that has life being less ignoble than it. Such contempt and outrage being once offered to that image of God in which he is created, where would be his wisdom, where would be his glory, where would be his dominion and sovereign authority? For this reason it was, that the Lord did not

choose, that any of the children of Israel should see Aaron die, except Moses, his brother, and Eliezer his son: and Moses was sanctified still more; for no man saw him, when he died, nor knew where he was buried. Therefore, for this cause alone, that he may not be despised in the eyes of those who behold him in death, interment is necessary to the dead; it being in consideration of his glory, so that no man may behold him in that state of putrescence, olfaction, and corruption." So likewise R. Menasseh ben Israel, in language the most explicit.* Et quis mortalium sani judicii nesciat, rem esse homini ignominiosam, corpus ejus in campo instar brutorum animantium relinqui, cum ad imaginem Dei factum sit? "Indeed, what man of common sense can be ignorant, how disgraceful a thing it would be for his body to be left in the open field, like that of a brute beast; seeing that it is made after the image of God?" Nay, St. Paul himself seems to understand by the expression neither more nor less than a certain degree of conformity in bodily figure. + "For a man," says he, "ought not to cover the head; forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man." Here I would ask, if the image of God, ascribed to the man, may not be meant of his bodily configuration; what reason it can be for the Apostle to assign, why the man should not be

^{*} De Fragilitate humana, p. 58. † 1 Cor. xi. 7.

ashamed to wear his head uncovered, though not the woman; seeing that in respect of the soul they cannot differ from each other, but may be distinguished only by the form of their bodies? other words, what has the bare head of the man to do with the image of God in this argument of the Apostle; if, according to the generality of expositors, the expression is to be understood of his rational part only? Certain it is, that Audius,* a Christian bishop of high antiquity and character, interpreted this image with a reference to the body alone; and Epiphanius + himself, though he does not wholly coincide with the school of Audius, has demonstrated at great length, and on the same grounds with myself, that it cannot be understood of the soul only as distinct from the body. Influenced, therefore, by these and other weighty considerations, I conclude, that the image of God, in which man is said to have been created, is not to be interpreted of the soul alone, if at all; but that it has reference chiefly, if not solely, to his bodily form.

The next thing which we proceed to consider is, in what sense this image or effigy may be said to belong to God; for, as the divine nature is perfectly incorporeal and spiritual, it is impossible, that it should essentially belong to God in the same manner that it does to man; and, therefore, some mode

^{*} Vid. Epiphanius, Contra Haer. Lib. III. † Ibidem. Vol. II.

of interpretation must be preferred, which will preserve to us the plain and literal meaning of the Scripture, without compromising that fundamental article of our faith, the incorporeity of the Godhead. Now, there are but two ways which we can adopt on this occasion; and on the respective merits of these it will be easy to decide. First, it may be called the image of God, in that it was conceived in the divine mind, before it was caused to subsist; agreeably to the doctrine of the Platonists, that of all the created beings, which now exist in the world, the different forms or species must have subsisted in the mind of the Creator ideally, before they were made to subsist actually; otherwise they would have been the effects of chance and accident, and not of design. But to this mode of interpretation there are many grave and insuperable objections. To express a mental image of that complexion, the term, דמין, rather than, צלם, should have been employed in the Hebrew. The Creator does not say, "Let us make man, according to our image or pattern," which would have been necessary, had that been the meaning intended to be expressed; but, "Let us make man in our image," a form of construction which fully implies, that he was to be in the model of something already subsisting, and already known. If to be made in the image of God, mean nothing more than to be formed according to some particular model existing in the divine

mind; then the heavens and the earth, the luminaries, and all the more remarkable creatures, which
occupy the sea and the land, will have been made
in the image of God; for all these have their several forms and shapes; and having been created by
God himself, they must, on the principle laid down,
have had an ideal, before they had an actual, existence. But I am fully authorised to assert, that,
with the inspired penmen, no being whatever, except man, is said to have been made in the image of
God; on the contrary, man alone, and exclusively,
is honoured with that distinction; a circumstance
which could not have happened, had the image in
question been meant of a model, that had only an
ideal, not an actual subsistency.

Seeing, then, that the notion of a mental image is wholly indefensible, it remains, that we understand it of some actual bodily figure, which belonged adventitiously, but not essentially, to the Supreme Being; and, that this is the true and proper mode of interpretation, I am prepared to maintain on the certain and infallible testimony of divine revelation. The image of God and the image corporeal of man are one and the same thing. Before the creation of the world, and, consequently, anterior to the formation of man, it was divinely decreed not only to create, but to redeem human nature from the penalties of sin and transgression, by the second subsistency of the Godhead, uniting in his own per-

son the whole nature of man, the body as well as the soul; and by his continuing to subsist eternally in that personal compound of Godhead and manhood, as the author of a new and everlasting covenant, and, as the divine mediator and intercessor between man and his Maker. By virtue of this antemundane decree and determinate counsel of God, the image of man has a right to be called the image of God; not only because at the close of the Mosaic dispensation the Word or Metatron, according to the belief of the Christian church, was to assume the human figure never more to be deposited; but because, according to the statements of most Jewish and Christian fathers, this illustrious personage did actually appear in that shape and figure, in the first dispensations of the world, as well to the primæval parents themselves, as to the patriarchs and prophets, who flourished long after them. Thus Rabbenu Tam :* המלאכים הם כחות ואין להם לא נוף ולא צורה אבל ראויים ללבוש בצורתם מעשה צורה יש מהם אשר יראה על צורת אריה ואחר על צורת חיה ואופן ויש מהם על צורת אדם והי' היקרה בעיניהם כי זאת הצורה אשר בה נראה מלאך הכבוד כאשר אמר ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם וע"כ אמ' נעשה אדם בצלמנו כדמותנו כלומר בצורה הנכבדת אצלנו אשר הי' מבחר כל הצורות למלאכים המתראים לבני אדם ומזה ללמוד כי צורת האדם הי' העליונה כי הי' צורת הדעת והחכמה וע"כ כל נפש אשר צורת' צורת אדם יש בה כח ימשכנה אל מעלת המלאכים אם לא יודמן מונע ממעשים

^{*} Sepher Hayasher, fol. 18, col. 2.

"The angels are active powers, having : דעים: neither body nor figure; nevertheless, it is compatible with their condition, on their actual appearance, to assume a figure of some sort. Some of them have appeared in the form of a lion; and others in the form of a living creature, and of a wheel. Some of them have appeared in the form of a man; and this, in their eyes, is the most glorious: for it is the form in which the angel of glory appeared, according to what the prophet says; And above the likeness of the throne there was, as it were to look at, the likeness of a man. So also, God said. Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness: that is, in the form or figure which is so much honoured or glorified by us; which of all forms or figures is the choice of the angels, who manifest themselves to the children of men. Hence we learn, that the human figure is of celestial origin, as it is the figure of knowledge and of wisdom: and, accordingly, every soul, which possesses the human figure, has in itself virtue that will draw it to the angelic degree, if not prevented by evil works." Indeed, with me it is a highly questionable point, whether the Deity, for causes unknown to us, might not vouchsafe to assume this very figure in order to manifest his presence to some part of the creation, even before Adam was formed: and in that case man must have been created literally in the image of God, in that image

which he had previously appropriated to himself with the design of manifesting to the world the glory of his person; and which was afterwards to be further glorified by the incarnation of his Word. That believer, indeed, must be highly and unaccountably superstitious, who, to sanction the many displays of the divine glory recorded in the Scriptures, can readily admit the Deity to have been present in the brute elements of matter; but who, for fear of corporifying the divine essence, denies, that he ever appeared to mankind in the human shape; as though it were less derogatory to the Supreme Being to exhibit his presence and glory in gross unorganized matter, than in that admirable specimen of the workmanship of his own hands, the configuration of man. But even admitting what, however, is extremely doubtful, that the Almighty never actually assumed the human figure till for the purpose of communicating to the parents of our species a revelation of his will; yet, if we take into consideration, that the first man, on conversing and comparing himself with the appearance of his Maker, could not preposterously conclude, that the bodily form, in which the Creator was pleased to appear to him, had been modeled after that of himself, but, on the contrary, that his own figure had been modeled after that of his Creator; and, if, as Christians, we may be permitted to subjoin, that, after an interlapse of only four thousand years, this

figure was pre-ordained to be united to the person of the Word, for an eternity of ages; we have abundant reason to contend, that the bodily image in which man was created, was literally the image of God, was divine rather than human; and, that in all the texts in which the term occurs, we are authorised to interpret it in its literal and grammatical sense.

Here, then, we have an argument highly corroborative of the doctrine of the incarnation. For on the supposition, that the doctrine is true, we see with what propriety and force we are enabled to interpret grammatically a very important part of the sacred writings; but, on the supposition, that it requires to be proved, there is a singular proof of its reasonableness and consistency in that man, from the beginning, was made in the very image which God had appropriated to himself, and in which, as will hereafter more fully appear, he graciously condescended to visit the patriarchs; so that, if once a sufficient motive shall be assigned for the act, the assumption of the humanity by the divinity will seem a rational and consistent doctrine; and highly consonant to that familiar intercourse, which, in the early ages of the world, is acknowledged to have obtained between Jehovah and his creatures.

CHAPTER III.

THAT the Scripture contains several instances on record of Jehovah personally appearing to the patriarchs of old, and of thus conversing with them in human shape, is a fact which cannot be disputed without perverting the grammatical sense, and turning the fairest specimens of simple narration into riddles and allegories. The instances on record, however, are but few in number, in comparison with what may reasonably be supposed to have actually taken place; and especially during the abode of Adam in Paradise, when communications and conferences with the Supreme Being would be the more frequent, in proportion as they were the more necessary for the direction and guidance of his life and conduct. But, notwithstanding the great brevity with which this part of the Mosaic history is confessedly drawn up, we have evidence registered sufficient to prove, that the Deity did not leave man to himself, to discover, by the powers of his own mind, the end of his creation, and the measure of his duty; but, by personal conferences, vouchsafed to furnish him with such degrees of light and knowledge as were compatible with his circumstances; and, as this would have to be done in such a manner as to be clearly comprehensible and intelligible to the species, there can be little

doubt of the temporary assumption of the human form by the Deity for the purpose of accomplishing it. Nay, if we are disposed to give full credence to the Scriptures, and to construe them as they ought to be construed, in their plain and literal sense; the very art of speech itself we shall rightly conclude to have been learnt from God; as the earliest notice extant of the exercise of this faculty is to be found in those discourses, which were instituted in Paradise between man and his Maker.

But to return to the argument. In the account of the expulsion of Adam from the garden of Eden, there occurs a striking proof of the truth of the position, that the Almighty assumed occasionally, at least, the likeness of a man :* וישמעו את קול יהוה אלהים מתהלך בגן לרוח היום ויתחבא האדם ואשתו מפני "And they heard the voice : יהוה אלהים בתוך עץ הגן of the Lord God walking in the garden, at the cool of the day; and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the face of the Lord God in a tree of the garden." Here so many circumstances conspire to establish the fact, that to seek to undermine the evidence of this Scripture, would be a highly vain and ridiculous attempt. This could not have been their first visit from Jehovah; for no sooner did they hear the voice, than they recognized it to be that of the Lord God, who, as heretofore, was walking in the garden; and conscious of their

being totally naked, as well as of their having violated his express commandment, they partly from modesty, and partly from fear, fled to conceal themselves in the covert of the tree. But, why did they conceal themselves? Because, knowing the image and figure in which they had been accustomed to confer with him, they naturally hoped to have shunned his inspection, and to have hidden themselves from him, as from one of their own species. For, to argue with certain divines, that, on losing their innocence, they lost both their reason and their reflection, and, therefore, stupidly sought to hide themselves from God, is to evince on the occasion less sense and reflection, than the culprits themselves are supposed to have possessed. It is plain, they were not so stupid and insensate as not to recognize the voice of Jehovah, when they heard him in the garden; nor was the apology for their concealment, that they were both naked, so very silly an excuse, as appears from the sequel, in that the Lord God, to cover their nakedness, prepared for them coats of skin, and clothed them. To us, indeed, whose metaphysics and notions of a spiritual substance are so extremely refined as scarcely to allow the Deity a place in the universe, much less to admit of his walking in a garden, the conduct of our first parents may seem strange and unaccountable; but to themselves, who had had previous colloquies with the Supreme Being in their

own form and likeness, who could not but remember the purity of his eyes and the majesty of his presence, it was natural and consequent, and such as might have been expected from creatures in their situation and circumstances.

To this must be added, that the accident of walking, here predicated of the Lord God, is explanative of the figure in which he appeared to them. prevent us, indeed, from taking the words in their literal sense, Aben Ezra, and after him Maimonides, are for referring the predicate, walking, not to the Lord, but to his voice; and, by way of confirmation of their criticism, adduce the two texts; "The voice thereof shall go like a serpent:" "And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long, and waxed louder and louder:" The latter of which is a mere idiom of the dialect; and ought not to have been alleged by Aben Ezra in the decision of this question. But even the more specious of the two examples is wide from the point. In both these the verb is, הלך, in Kal, signifying, to go, or, to move forward; but in the text before us it is, התהלך, in Hithpael, signifying, to walk, or, to move of oneself; and, as Aben Ezra and Maimonides must have both known, is predicated at all times of a subject which is endowed with spontaneous motion, but more especially, if not exclusively, of man. We cannot, therefore, consistently with the principles of grammar, associate the

predicate, walking, with, voice; but only with, Lord God, as the construction requires. Thus we find it argued in Bereshith Rabba:* א"ר חלפון שמענו שיש הילוך לקול שנ' וישמעו את קול ה' אלהים מתהלך בגן והילוך לאש שנ' ותהלך אש ארצה א"ר אבא בר כהנא מהלך אין כתיב כאן אלא מתהלך מקפץ ועולה "R. Colphon said, we : תחתונים היתה בתחתונים שכינ' בתחתונים have heard, that going is ascribable to voice; as the Scripture saith: And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden. It is ascribable to fire, as the Scripture saith: And the fire went along the ground. R. Abba bar Cahana said, It is not here written, מתהלך, going; but, מתהלך, walking, that is, bounding and rising, to wit, the radix of the Habitation which was in the lower world." So R. Solomon Jarchi: + וישמעו מה שמעו " And they :שמעו את קול הקב"ה שהיה מתהלך בגן: heard: what did they hear? They heard the voice of the Lord, who was walking in the garden." So likewise R. Moses Gerundensis, having noticed the gloss of R. Colphon, Aben Ezra, and Maimonides, rejects it to the following effect : ולפי דעתי כי טעם מתהלך בגן כטעם והתהלכתי בתוככם וילך ה' כאשר כלה לדבר אל אברהם אלך אשובה אל מקומי והוא ענין גלוי שכינה במקום ההוא או הסתלקותו מן המקום שנגלה בו: "But according to my opinion the sense of, walking in the garden, is to be illustrated from the passages; And I will walk in the midst of you-

^{*} Fol. 16, col. 3. + Com. in loc. ‡ Com. in loc.

And the Lord went away, when he had ceased speaking unto Abraham-I will go, and return unto my place—it being meant either of the manifestation of the Habitation in that place; or else of its departure from the place, in which it had been manifested." That the Habitation is the very essence and substance of the Supreme Being is the well known opinion of R. Moses Gerundensis; and, though the targumists, Onkelos, and Jonathan, make it the voice of the Word of Jehovah, and not of the Habitation, which they heard in the garden; yet are these two expositions perfectly consistent with each other; as the three personalities of the Godhead are inseparably united; and, wherever the Word or the Metatron manifested himself to the world, there likewise appeared the glory of the Habitation.

The next remarkable proof upon record of the Deity vouchsafing to appear in human shape is deducible from the manifestation of Jehovah to Abraham in the forest of Mamre:*

וירא אליו יהוה ישב פתח האהל כחם היום וישא עיניו באלני ממרא והוא ישב פתח האהל כחם היום וישא עיניו וירא והנה שלשה אנשים נצבים עליו וירא וירץ לקראתם מפתח האהל וישתחו ארצה: ויאמר אדני אם נא מצאתי מפתח האהל וישתחו ארצה: ויאמר אדני אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך אל נא תעבר מעל עבדך: And Jehovah ap- יק בעיניך אל נא תעבר מעל עבדך: peared to him in the forest of Mamre; and he was sitting at the door of the tent, about the hottest of the day. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw; and,

^{*} Gen. xviii. 1, 2, 3.

lo, three persons were standing towards him: and he saw, and ran to meet them, from the door of the tent; and bowed himself to the earth. And he said, My Lord, if now I have found favour in thy sight; pass not away, I pray thee, from thy servant." In the first volume of this work, I have cited and expounded the above extraordinary manifestation of Jehovah to the patriarch in three persons, as an intimation of the Trinity of the Godhead; acknowledging at the same time, according to the belief of the Jewish church, that those three persons were really three angels; and to the grounds of that exposition I still adhere. But, though they all sustained the character of angels, and severally discharged the missions with which they were entrusted; yet, that one of them must have been the second subsistency of the Godhead, styled in the Christian church the angel of the great council, and in the Jewish church the Metatron, or Michael, the prince, is capable of being demonstrated on the most unexceptionable evidence. First of all, it is not said, that the angels of Jehovah; but, that Jehovah appeared to him in the plains of Mamre. Secondly, the title, Adonai, my Lord, with which he addressed one of these illustrious personages, is pointed with the Kamets; to the Jew a certain and infallible sign of its being synonymous with, Jehovah. Thirdly, it is universally admitted, that this manifestation of the divine

presence was accompanied with the Habitation. Such are the grounds on which the interpretation is to be defended

In Bereshith Rabba, each of these points is distinctly set forth:* אמ' ער שלא מלתי היו העוברי' והשבים באים אצלי א"ל הק"בה עד שלא מלתה היו בני אדם ערלים באים עכשיו אני ובני פמלי' שלי נגלים עליך הה"ד וישא עיניו וירא והנה שלש' אנש'י נצבים עליו וירא בשכינ' וירא במלאכים: א"ר חנינה שמות חדש'י עלו מבבל ריש לקיש אמר אף שמות מלאכים מיכאל רפאל וגבריאל: א"ר לוי אחד נדמה לו בדמות סרקי וא' נדמה לו בדמות נווטי ואחד בדמות ערבי: אמר אם רוא' אני ששכינ' ממתנת עליהם אני יודע שהן בני אדם גדולי' ואם אני רואה אותן חולקים כבוד אלו לאלו ידע שהן בני אדם מהוגנין: א"ר אבהו אהל פלן של אבינו אברהם מפולש היה: ר' יודן אמר כהדין דרומילום: אמר אם אני רואה אותן שהפליגו את דרכם להתקרב דרך כאן אני יודע שהן באים אצלי כיון שראה אותן שהפליגו מיד וירץ לקראתם מפתח האהל וישתחו ארצה: ויאמר אדוני אם נא מצאתי חן תני ר' חייא לגדול שבהן "He said, Before I was circumcised, :אמר זה מיכאל I had many comers and goers. Jehovah said to him, Before thou wast circumcised, uncircumcised children of men came; but now I and my family appear unto thee. This is what the Scripture saith, And he lifted up his eyes, and saw; and, lo, three persons were standing towards him: and he saw,

^{*} Fol, 42. col. 4.

first, in respect of the Habitation; and he saw again, in respect of the angels. R. Chanina said, The names of the months came from Babylon. Resh Lakish said, So also the names of the angels, Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel. R. Levi said, One of them appeared to him in the likeness of a Saracen, one in the likeness of a mariner, and one in the likeness of an Ishmaelite. He said, If I see that the Habitation attends on them, I shall be sure that they are great men: and, if I see, that they give honour one to another, I shall be sure that they are honourable men. R. Abhu said, The tent of the pavilion of our father, Abraham, was open on all sides: R. Joden said, As open as the forest itself. He said, If I see that they part their road to approach hither, I shall be sure that they are coming to me. As soon as he saw that they had parted; forthwith he ran to meet them from the door of the tent, and bowed himself to the earth. And he said, My Lord, if now I have found grace. R. Chija has a tradition, that he thus addressed himself to the greatest amongst them, to wit, Michael." The chief things to be noted in this ancient testimony are, that Jehovah with his Habitation and his Angels was personally manifested to the patriarch; and, that in consideration of one of the three personages being Michael, the prince, he addressed him by the name and title of the Supreme Being. Such, indeed, is the illustration of its last sentence in Mattanoth Chehunna:* לנדול שבהן כו' מדלא כתיב אדני הנון בפתח כדלקמן גבי לוט דהוה משמע לשון רבים אלא בקמין בניקוד שם יחידו של עולם ש"מ דלא אמר " To him: מרם לגדול שבכולם וזהו מיכאל that was the greatest amongst them, &c. because the Nun of, Adonai, is not pointed with a Pathach, as it is a little below in the speech of Lot, where it is literally of the plural number; but with the Kamets, with the punctuation of the name of the single being of the world, that is to say, of the tetragrammaton; for he spake but to one of them, to the greatest that was amongst them, namely, Michael." But, if the Beresheth Rabba had furnished no evidence in support of our interpretation, we could have appealed to a still more ancient and weighty authority, to Onkelos, the targumist; who, in paraphrasing this passage of Scripture, has, for the term, אדני, My Lord, substituted, אדני, OJehovah: and, consequently removed every shadow of doubt and hesitation, in what sense it had been understood by the early Jewish fathers: † ואמר יי אם כען "And : אשכחית רחמין קדמך לא כען תעיבר מעל עבדך: he said, O Jehovah, if now I have found mercy in thy presence; do not, I pray, pass from thy serservant." To the like effect is the targum of Jonathan : אמר בבעו ברחמין מן קדמך יי אין כדון אשכחית חינא קומך לא כדון תסלק איקך שכנתך מעילוי עבדך

^{*} Ibidem. † Gen. xviii. 3. ‡ Ibidem.

"And he said, I : עד דאיכנוס עיבוריא תחות אילנא entreat thee by thy mercies, O Jehovah, if now I have found favour before thee; do not, I pray, cause to depart the glory of thy Habitation from thy servant, until I shall have collected the provisions under the tree." To these testimonies might be subjoined various others of a similar tendency; but, as enough has been alleged to establish the point in my favour, I shall close with one illustration more from R. Bechai, as it makes much for the confirmation of the argument.* זעוד תמצ' אם תשכיל בפרש' כי נגלת לו כאן השכינה עם מחנותיה שהרי ג' המלאכי' האלה מלאכי צבאות הם ומארבע מחנו' שכינה הם ובבראשית רבה בכל מקום שתמצא מיכאל שם כבוד השכינה ולכך בראותו אותם רץ אחריהם כרץ אחר השכינה ומה שנגלו שלשת ולא ארבעתם הכל לפי הצורך מלאך החסד על שתי שליחיות שהיו של חסד מלאך הרחמים על הרפואה מלאד הדין על חרבן סדום והרביעי כבר נגלה לו בין הבתרים והבן זה ויאמ' אדני אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך על דרך הפשט קרא את כולם אדני׳ ואמר לנדול שבהם אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך וכל הענין וזה הפירוש לדעת האומר כי הוא חול אבל מפני שמצאנוהו קמו"ן בכל הספרים יש לנו לומר שהוא קדש וקראם בשם רביהם ויתכן לומר כי למיכאל לבדו הוא שקר' בשכם רבו מפני שהוא מלאך החסד כמדתו לכך התחיל לדבר עמו והזכיר בתחלת דבריו מים ובסו' דבריו חמאה וחלב ולא נזכר יין בסעוך' וזה מבואר וטעם היות השם הזה קמוץ כשהוא קדש ידוע הוא ולפי הפש' בחכמת הנקודי' * Com. in loc. fol. 30, col. 1.

הקמץ מעלה גדולה וראשון לשבעה תנועות שהם קמים "Moreover, if you : פתח צרי סגול חולם שורק חירק will consider, you will find, in this section, that there here appeared to him the Habitation with its camps; for those three angels were the angels of hosts, and from the four camps of the Habitation. In Beresheth Rabba, it is likewise affirmed, Whereever you find Michael, there also is the glory of the Habitation: and, therefore, he no sooner saw them, than he ran after them, as though he were running after the Habitation. That but three, and not all the four, appeared, was because there was no need of the other. The angel of grace was for the two errands of a gracious tendency; the angel of mercy was for the healing of the patriarch; the angel of judgment was for the destruction of Sodom: and the fourth had already appeared to him amongst the carcases. This observe, and attend to. And he said, My Lord, if now I may have found grace in thine eyes: according to the letter of the text, he styles them all, lords; but says to the greatest amongst them. If now I may find grace in thine eyes, &c. and this would be its interpretation agreeably to the opinion, that the term, Adonai, in this place, were a profane or temporal title. But, seeing that in all copies we find it pointed with the Kamets; it is our duty to state, that it is a sacred appellation; and, that he thus accosts them by the name of their

master. It is highly probable, indeed, that it was Michael only whom he thus addressed by the name of his master; because he is the angel of grace in respect of his property. Hence he begins to commune with him, and in the entrance of his discourse makes mention of water, and at the close of it of butter and milk; but there is no mention of wine at the meal, as is clearly seen. The reason why this name, when sacred, is pointed with the Kamets, is matter of notoriety. According to the philosophy of the points, the Kamets occupies the highest degree, being the first of all the seven vowels; which are Kamets, Pathach, Tseri, Segol, Holem, Shurek, and Hirek." From these elucidations and comments, we are doubtless authorised to maintain, that Michael, invested with the titles and splendor of Deity, did actually appear to Abraham in the form of a man; and, that Michael is no other than the Metatron, the angel of the divine presence, shall be amply demonstrated in the progress of this work.

It is not to be dissembled, however, that from a laudable but groundless anxiety to remove every accident of corporeity from the Godhead, many of the Jewish expositors, and especially R. Moses Alshech, attempt to make Abraham distinguish between the real presence of Jehovah, in the Habitation, and the three angels who appeared to him in the likeness of men; so that, when he says,

My Lord, if now I may find grace in thy sight, he is supposed to address not any of the three personages whom he had run to meet, but the Habitation by itself; and then to convert his eyes and discourse to the strangers in human shape. But this is so forced and unparalleled a mode of interpreting Scripture, that to present it to the eye of the dispassionate reader, is effectually to confute it. Nothing can be more apparent than that, by the arrival of those three angels with the glory of the Habitation, Jehovah was personally revealed to the sight of the patriarch; and, that it was either some, or all, of those three personages with whom he alone and exclusively conversed, must be equally manifest to the least discerning.

The miraculous descent of Jehovah upon mount Sinai, and his consequent manifestation to Moses and the elders, are well attested and celebrated scriptural facts. But, whether they beheld him in a human, or only in a luminous and indefinite shape, may be thought by many to be rather a doubtful question. That they beheld him in some form, is the declaration of Scripture:*

ויעל משה ואהרן נדב ואביהוא אלהי ישראל ותחת וישבעים מזקני ישראל: ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר וכעצם השמים למהר: ואל אצילי בני ישראל לא שלח ידו ויחזו את האלהים ויאכלו וישתו: Then went up Moses and Aaron, Nadab וישתו: and Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel.

^{*} Ex. xxiv. 9.

And they saw the God of Israel; and under his feet there was, as it were, a work of sapphire pavement, and the very substance of the heavens for transparency. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand; and they saw God, and did eat and drink." From the circumstance, that Moses, in his repetition of the law to the Israelites, reminds them, that on the day on which the Lord spoke to them in Horeb out of the midst of the fire, they saw no manner of likeness; it has been concluded by many expositors, that neither did the elders see any similitude, when they beheld the God of Israel; an inference, which can by no means be maintained from the reason alleged. The vulgar Israelites did not ascend with Moses and Aaron: nor is it affirmed of them, that they saw the God of Israel, and did eat and drink in the manner recorded. They were not suffered to approach the sacred mountain; but were kept at a distance, probably with the view that they might not from any thing which they might have beheld in common with the elders, be tempted to make for themselves an image or likeness of the Deity. It, therefore, by no means follows, that, because on the giving of the Law the aggregate body of the Israelites saw nothing but thunderings, and lightnings, and voices; the seventy elders, with Moses, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, who were expressly commanded to go up into the mountain to Jehovah, beheld no more than

they did; that they were not allowed to contemplate the Supreme Being in some fixed and definite shape. The very reverse of this is the more probable solution. If they saw no figure, how could they determine the place of his feet to be above the pavement of sapphire, and not in it, nor below it, nor on one side of it; or, indeed, how could they speak of him as having feet at all, if they had seen no likeness nor manner of form? In answer to the high request of Moses, the Lord says, No man shall see me and live: and, in reference to this received notion, Manoah, after that they had seen the angel of Jehovah in human shape, said to his wife; We shall surely die, because we have seen God. But to what purpose, I would ask, is it here affirmed, that on the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hands, but, that they saw God, and did eat and drink, that is, did not die in consequence of what they had seen; if they had not literally seen God, and, if the manner in which they had regarded him, was not with their natural and bodily sight? R. Solomon, indeed, expressly declares, that they contemplated Jehovah in their minds, and as such ought immediately to have died; and with this also coincides the gloss of R. Abraham ben Ezra; but how the mental contemplation of the divinity should have incurred the infliction of death, is a question to which neither Jarchi, nor Aben Ezra, nor any living Rabbi at this day, could afford a satisfactory

reply, as it is diametrically opposite to the known principles of Judaism.

In commenting on this vision, the great mass of Jewish expositors, for fear of sanctioning too much the vulgar idea, that God subsists only in a bodily form, have scrupulously abstained from giving the simple significations; indulging in secondary, allegorical, and cabbalistic meanings, all which may be doctrinely true; but they do not furnish what I particularly require, the plain and literal sense of the inspired penman. The targum of Onkelos is, זהוו ית יקרא דיי, " And they saw the glory of Jehovah :" that of Jonathan, שכינתא דיי, "And they saw the glory of the Habitation of Jehovah:" but these are expressions of a kindred import, and denote no more than the visible splendor or glory with which Jehovah was accompanied. R. Bechai, however, in what he terms the literal sense of the text, affords an illustration by no means incompatible with the tenour of our argument :* ויראו את אלהי ישראל הכונה בזה על הכבוד האחרון שהזכירו למעלה ולכך הוסיף בו את שהוא השכינה שהשם המ וחד שהוא אלהי ישראל כתו' בו כי לא יראני האדם וחי ולכך תרגם אונקלוס וחזו ית יקר אלהא דישראל והוא הכבוד שרא' יחוקאל כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה כי ראה תחלה חיות הקדש והאופנים למטה אצל החיות וחזר וראה הרקיע הנמוי על ראשי החיות וראה הכסא על הרקיע ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה ותחת

^{*} Com. in loc. fol. 114, col. 3.

רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר ע"ד הפשט יבאר הכתו' כי משה ואהרן ובניו ושבעים הזקנים ראו עתה במעמד הר סיני אלהי ישר' על הכסא והכסא על הרקיע והו' הרקיע " And they saw the God : הנטוי על ראשי החיות of Israel, meaning hereby the latter glory above mentioned; and, therefore, the article, the, is used; it being the Habitation, the Jehovah, the God of Israel, of whom it is written, No man shall see me and live. For this reason, the targum of Onkelos gives, And they saw the glory of the God of Israel, that is to say, the glory above which the prophet, Ezekiel, saw as it were the appearance of a man: for he saw, first of all, the living creatures of the Holy One, and the wheels below near to the living creatures; and, then, he again saw the firmament stretched above the heads of the living creatures; and he saw the throne above the firmament. and above the likeness of the throne the likeness of a man, to look at, higher than all. And under his feet there was as it were the work of the pavement of sapphire: according to its literal import, the Scripture declares, that Moses, Aaron, and his sons, together with the seventy elders, now saw, in the station on mount Sinai, the God of Israel above the throne, and the throne above the firmament, and the firmament itself above the heads of the living. creatures." From this lucid and rational comment. of R. Bechai, then, we are authorised to maintain, that the vision which the princes of Israel saw, was

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corporeal; and, that, as it embraced the same objects with the vision of Ezekiel, they saw upon the the top of the throne, and after the appearance and likeness of a man, Jehovah, the God of Israel. Indeed, as the Jehovah to whom they were commanded to repair in the mount, was no other than the Metatron, the very personage who had previously appeared to Abraham in human shape, and who according to Rabbenu Tam was likewise manifested above the throne in the form of a man to the prophet, Ezekiel; there seems no ground for hesitating to conclude, not only that they beheld the God of Israel, Jehovah by name; but, that they beheld him with their naked and bodily eyes.

That Job was favoured with a similar manifestation, is apparent from the history of that venerable patriarch; whose debates with his friends on the dispensations of providence were answered by a speech from Jehovah himself. "And the Lord," saith the Scripture, "answered Job, "And the Lord," saith the Scripture, "answered Job, from the whirlwind," that is, מן רוח סערה, from the whirlwind from which the chariot of the Habitation appeared to Ezekiel. There is, therefore, just ground for the inference, that out of this whirlwind Jehovah was manifested to the patriarch in the same human shape in which he was beheld by the prophet above the likeness of the throne. This supposition is remarkably corroborated by the words of Job him-

self:* לשמע אזן שמעתיד ועתה עיני ראתד: "By the hearing of the ear I had heard thee; but now mine eye hath seen thee:" that is, says R. Solomon Jarchi,† ועתה עיני ראתה את שכינתד, "But now my eve hath seen thy Habitation." The like gloss we have from the pen of R. Moses Alshech; only a little more corroborative of the truth of the argument : בפרשת לד לך כתבנו כי אברהם בח"ל היה שומע קול ה' אך לא היה רואה מראה וזהו ויאמר ה' אל אברם לך לך אך כאשר ויעבר אברם בארץ אז וירא ה' אל אברם וע"ד זה יאמר איוב טוב לי כי עונתי ביסורין כי בתחלה לשמע אזן שמעתיך ולא הייתי זוכה למראה אך " Behold, in יעתה עיני ראתך כענין וירא ה' אל אברם: the section, Get thee gone, we have stated, that Abraham, whilst out of the land of Israel, heard the voice of Jehovah; but saw no vision: and so the Scripture saith; And the Lord said unto Abram, Get thee away. But as soon as Abram passed over into the land, then we read, And the Lord appeared unto Abram. In this manner, Job says, It is good for me, that I have been afflicted with chastisements: for at the first I heard thee by the hearing of the ear, but was not worthy to enjoy a sight; whereas now mine eye hath seen thee: to see, having the same signification here as in the text, And Jehovah was seen of Abraham." But, if what our author maintains be correct, that the Lord appeared unto Job in the same manner

^{*} xlii. 5. † Com. in loc. ‡ Com. in loc.

that he had done unto Abraham; then have we a right to conclude, that both these fathers contemplated Jehovah with their bodily eyes, and conversed with his glory in the same image with themselves.

To the vision of Ezekiel we have already alluded as affording irrefragable evidence of the truth of our position. The likeness of a man, which he beheld above the likeness of the throne, was doubtless designed to represent the first cause. Such is, decidedly, the opinion of R. Isaac Abarbinel:* ומחה תבין שאין הדבר כמו שחשב הרב המורה שהאד' אשר על הכסא היה רמז ומשל אל כלל השכלי' הנבדלי' כי הנה מציאות הנבדלים השכלתם ופנייתם כבד בא במשל החיות אבל האדם אשר על הכסא הוא רמו אל הסבה "Hence you will perceive, : הרשאונ' ית' ויתעלה שמו that the author of More Nevochim is wrong in supposing, that the man above the throne was intended to denote and represent in general the abstract intelligences; for most unquestionably the essence of the abstract intelligences, together with their prudence and aspects, had been previously represented under the symbol of the living creatures: but the man upon the throne was meant to denote the first cause, blessed and exalted be his name." In Medrash Rabboth, the term, man, is said to be expressive of love; and the reason assigned for it by the author of Yaphe

^{*}Com. Ez. i. 26,

Tour, is, that God is so called according to this vision :* אדם זה לשון חיבה פי' משום דהק"בה איקרי אדם " Man is ex-: כאו' ועל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם pressive of love: this interpret, because God is called man, according to the Scripture: And above the likeness of the throne, there was a likeness according to the appearance of a man." manner, indeed, in which this manifestation took place, was by a prophetic vision; but whether by a prophetic or a natural vision, as long as the objects contemplated were not the delusions and phantoms of a morbid imagination, but were caused to subsist by the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost; the position, that Jehovah did appear to the ancient fathers, in their own form and likeness, is still to be considered as an undeniable and incontrovertible fact.

Indeed, that the case was otherwise, is inadmissible from the sacred narratives. The celebrated R. Solomon Jarchi, not more remarkable as an expositor for his perfect knowledge of the talmud, than for his close adherence to the literal sense of Scripture; wherever there occurs any mention of the divine image of man, or of the Deity conferring with the fathers in visible shape; generally illustrates the text in such a manner as to favour the present argument. This is acknowledged by at least one of his many commentators, R. Jehuda Lib

^{*} Medrash Rabboth, fol. 147, col. 3, Amst. ed. 1725.

ben Obadiah:* והא דפירש"י בסמוך צלם דיוקן יוצרו משמע שיש לו צלם להק"בה ה"פ באותו דיוקן שנרא' לה' לנביאים כשנגלה להם כך ברא את האדם אבל הק"בה אין "But as to the gloss of Rashi in : לו שום דמות ח"ו: the verse following, where his words are, The image of the image of his Maker, literally inculcating, that Jehovah hath an image; that do you interpret thus: In the very image in which he appeared to the prophets, as often as he was manifested to them, did he create man; but Jehovah himself hath no likeness at all, by no means." That Jehovah, then, to manifest his presence to the patriarchs and prophets, did actually assume the image of the species, is a doctrine to which the Jew no less than the Christian must yield his assent.

Now, certainly, this temporary assumption of the human form is a well founded argument in favour of the incarnation. For, if for the sake of establishing the faith of the patriarchs in the dispensations of providence, and of demonstrating his equity, justice, and mercy, in the administration and government of the world; if, I say, in order to impart to mankind a sure knowledge of their high rank and destiny in the creation; of their natural obligations to fulfil the divine law; of the rewards of obedience, and of the penalties of transgression; he did not disdain to become man in

^{*} Minchath Jehudah, fol. 3, col. 4.

appearance, it could be no disparagement to the divine nature to become man in reality; provided that the motive for so doing should be commensurate with the act. That there was a sufficient motive, is the thing next to be considered.

CHAPTER IV.

Before I proceed, however, to state the ground and sufficiency of the motive, it will be highly necessary to say something of the origin and condition of the human race; for, that the final cause of the mystery of the incarnation affects our species only, and not the divine nature, which is immutably and supremely happy; cannot but be apparent to the least discerning. Thus far, then, the Jew and the Christian both agree; that man, originally, was created immortal, and capable as well with respect to his body as to his soul of subsisting to eternity; but, that, in consideration of his having eaten of the forbidden fruit, he incurred the penalty of sin and transgression; and so became the efficient cause not only of himself, but of the whole world; being rendered obnoxious, as we now find them, to mortality and decay. I am aware, indeed, that this doctrine is treated with the utmost degree of contempt by that illustrious scholar and commentator, R. Abraham ben Ezra; who terms what the great body of Jewish commentators had written on the subject, דברי רוח, vain and futile assertions, maintaining, that, with the exception of the spiritual afflatus from above, there was no original distinction between the man and the brute; for as the one dieth, even so dieth the other; and, that, why the first man did not immediately die the death annexed to his transgression, was, because he instantly repented, and so obtained forgiveness according to the opinion of the fathers. But though Aben Ezra is deservedly esteemed an authority of the first rank, and even for his doctrine has the authority of R. Simeon in Zohar Chadash; yet, in a question of this nature, it would be highly unbecoming to balance his name alone against the unanimous consent of the whole Jewish church, as well before as since the age in which he flourished: for, as to the opinion of the ancient fathers, if he meant to affirm, that they believed the first man wholly to have escaped by virtue of repentance the penalty of his transgression, he was certainly in an error; as the general sense of the fathers was directly the reverse of this statement, as the production of their own testimonies will abundantly manifest.

To begin then with $Medrash\ Rabboth:*$ רבי יודן בשם כנגד ו' דברים שנטלו מאדם הראשון * Fol. 10, col. 3.

ואלו הן זיוו הייו וקומתו ופרי הארץ ופירות האילן ומאורות: "R. Joden in the name of R. Abbin said, They answer to the six things, taken from the first man; which were his splendor, his life, his stature, the produce of the earth, the fruits of the tree, and the lights." So again :* א"ר תפרויי בשם רבי אחא אמר הק"בה אם אני בוראו מן העליוני' הוא חי ואינו מת מן התחתונים הוא מת ואינו הי אלא הריני בוראו מאלו ומאלו "R. Taphroi in the :ואם ימות ואם לאו יחיה: name of R. Acha, said, The Lord said, If I create him from the celestial world, he will live, but cannot die; and if I create him from the terrestrial world, he will die, but cannot live. Behold, then, I will create him from both; and, if he sins, he shall die; if not, he shall live." So on another occa-מות תמות מיתה לאדם מיתה לחוה מיתה לו י sion: + "Dying thou shalt die; death to : מיתה לתולדותיו Adam, death to Eve; death to himself, and death to his posterity." So likewise in another place on the words, that there is nothing now which has not been before :‡ אומר אם ר' יהודה אומר אם ר' נחמיה ר' יהודה ור' נחמיה ר' אמר לך אדם שאלו לא חטא אדם הראשון ואכל מאותו העץ היה חי וקיים לעולם אמור לו אתה כבר היה אליהו "R. Judah and R. יוקיים לעולם: חי הוא חי וקיים לעולם: Nehemiah. R. Jehuda said, Should any man say to thee, that, if the first man had not sinned, he would have lived, and continued for ever; do thou say to him, that there hath already been Elijah, who

did not sin, and who lives and continues for ever." So again:* אמר רבי תנחומא בר אבא נאות אדם תשפילנו זה אדם הראשון כיצד בשעה שעבר אדם על צוויו של הק"בה ואכל מן אילן ביקש הק"בה שיעשה תשובה ופתח לו פתח ולא בקש אדם הה"ד ויאמר אלהים הן האדם וג'ו א"ר אבא בר כהנא מהו ועתה אלא שאמ' לו הק"בה אפי' עכשיו עשה תשובה ואני מקב"ך ואמר אדם אי אפשי הק"בה אמר ועתה ואמר אדם פן אי אפשי: "R. Tanchuma bar Abba said, the text, The pride of man is the cause of his humiliation, is meant of the first man. How? No sooner had Adam violated the commands of Jehovah, and eaten of the tree, than the Lord sought that he should perform repentance, and opened to him the door; but Adam did not seek it: this is what the Scripture saith, And God said, Behold the man, &c. R. Abba bar Cahana said, What else is the meaning of the words, And now, but that Jehovah said to him, Even now perform repentance, and I will receive thee: but Adam said, It is impossible. The Lord said, And now; but Adam said, Nay, it is not possible." So also in another part: לה אדם יות אדם הראשון שכל הצדיקים שיעמדו ממנו נגזר' עליהם מית' אינס נפטרון עד שרואין פני שכינה ומוכיחין אדם הראשון. ואומרים לו אתה גרמת לנו מית' והוא משיבם אני בידי חטא אחד ואתם אין כל אחד מכם שאין בידו יותר "This is the first man: for on all : מארבע עונות the righteous, who may subsist from him, death

^{*} Fol. 208, col. 2, 3. + Fol, 225, col. 3.

hath been decreed. They have no deliverance, until they behold the face of the Habitation, and inculpate the first man, and say to him, Thou hast been to us the occasion of death; whilst he answers them, By my means there was one sin; but there is not one of you by whose means there are not more than four iniquities." From these testimonies of the fathers themselves, it is fully apparent, that the entrance of death into the world they charged wholly on the primæval transgression; and, whether Adam repented or not, they seem by no means to have coincided with Aben Ezra, that he recovered by repentance what he had forfeited by crime. The general opinion, indeed, seems to have been, that he did not repent at all; much less, that he repented effectually: and this is rendered probable not only on the foregoing evidence, but likewise on the authority of מכסה פשעיו זה אדם הראשון * Medrash Tillim שאמר להקדוש ברוך הוא האשה אשר נתת עמדי לא ביקש לעשות תשובה שנאמר ועתה פן ישלח ידו אמר רבי אבא בר כהנא היה הקדוש ברוך הוא אומר לו עשה תשובה והוא היה אומר פן ואין עתה אלא תשובה שנאמר ועתה ישראל מה יי' אלהיך שואל מעמך כי אם לירא ואין " He who covereth his transgres- : פן אלא לאו sions: this is the first man, who pleaded before the Holy One, blessed be he, saying, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me. He sought not

^{*} Fol. 36, col. 3, Amst. ed. 1730.

to perform repentance, as it is said, And, now, perchance he shall put forth his hand. R. Abba bar Cahana said, The Lord said to him, Perform repentance: but he said, Perchance. The particle, now, indicates nothing else than repentance, according to the Scripture, And, now, Israel what doth the Lord require of thee, except to fear. Nor is the sense of, perchance, any thing else than, not." In Massecheth Eruvin, indeed, there is a saying of R. Meir, that the first man, as soon as he saw that the penalty of death was awarded against him, became extremely pious, repented with fasting a hundred and thirty years, separated himself from his wife a hundred and thirty years, and covered his body with girdles of the leaves of the fig-tree a hundred and thirty years; but in all this there is not the least intimation of his sentence having been mitigated: and as to the reason why he repented at all, when he could not reverse his doom, that is most ingeniously and probably accounted for by the author of Caphtor Upherach:* אדם הראשון ידע שנקנסה עליו מיתה אף על פי כן לא נמנע מלשיב כדי שבעולם הבא לא יהא עונשו שמור שם להכריתו כי עבר על מצות לא תעשה וכריתות וחלול השם וגרם מיתה לו ולכל "The first man was very sensible, that : העולם כלו: the penalty of death was awarded against him; nevertheless, he was not prevented from repenting,

^{*} Fol. 37, col. 2.

in order that his punishment might not be extended to the world to come, there to cut him off: as he had transgressed against a negative precept, incurred the punishment of excision and of blasphemy; and so became the occasion of death to himself, and to all the world besides." That his repentance, if any, could not have been effectual to the recovery of his pristine state of happiness, is deducible from the Scripture itself, which is not only silent on the matter of repentance, but makes Jehovah denounce against him, in terms the most emphatic, the sentence of death; and afterwards details his expulsion from paradise, an event, which could not have happened, had he atoned for his sin by subsequent repentance; as there is on record, no other act of disobedience whereby he could have incurred this special punishment, except the eating of the forbidden fruit.

But this doctrine of original sin, as I have already observed, is the doctrine of the Jewish church; and, if we except the individual authority of Aben Ezra, is to be found in the works of every writer of eminence. It is inculcated by the targumist on Ruth:* ועובר אוליד ית ישי דמתקרי נחש בגין אשתכחת בידו עילא ושחיתא לאתמסרא בידוי דלא אשתכחת בידו עילא ושחיתא לאתמסרא בידוי דמלאכא דמותא למסב ית נפשיה מיניה והיה יומין סגיאין עיטא דיהב חויא לחוא אתת אדם למיכל מן אילנא דאכלין פרוי תכימין לידע בין טב לביש לביש

ועל ההוא עיטא אתחייבו מותא כל דיירי ארעא ובההיא " And Obed begat Jesse, ישי צדיקא: עילא שכיב ישי צדיקא who was called Nachash, because that in him was found neither iniquity nor depravity to deliver him into the hands of the angel of death to deprive him of his life; and so he continued many days, until mention was made before Jehovah of the counsel which the serpent gave to Eve, the wife of Adam, to eat of the tree; of which, when they had eaten the fruit, they learnt to distinguish between good and evil; and by reason of which counsel all the inhabitants of the earth became guilty of death: and in that iniquity lay righteous Jesse." By R. Jehuda Levita:*. וגן עדן עצמו אשר הרבו בני אדם לוכרו לא לקחו אותו כי אם מן התורה והיא המדרגה אשר הוכנה לאדם ולולי שחשא היה עומד בה לנצח: "So the garden of Eden itself, of which the world are continually making mention, they have from no other source than from the Law; it being that state of bliss which was prepared for Adam, and in which, if he had not sinned, he would have subsisted for ever." By R. Moses Gerundensis:+ ביום אכלך ממנו מות תמות בעת שתאכל ממנו תהיה בן מות וכמוהו ביום צאתך והלכת אנה ואנה ידוע תדע כי מות תמות שאין הכוונ' שימות מיד בו ביום ואין הכונה לידיעה בלבד שידע שימות כי החיים יודעים שימותו כלם אבל הכונה כי בעת שיצא יהיה חייב מיתה למלך והוא ימית אותו כאש' ירצ' וכן ולא יבאו לראו' כבלע את הקדש * Sepher Cosri, Memar I. 72, Basil ed. 1660. + Com. Gen. ii. 17.

ומתו ולא ישאו עליו חטא ומתו בו כי אין ענינם אלא שיהיו חייבי' מיתה וימותו בחמאם זה וע"ד אנשי הטבע היה האד' מעותד למיתה מתחלת היצירה מפני היותו מורכב אבל גזר עתה שאם יחט' ימות בחטא כדרך חייבי מיתה בידי שמי' בעבירה כאוכל תרומה ושתוי יין ומחוסר בגדים ווולתם שהכונה בהם שימותו בחטאם טרם בא יומם ולכך אמר בענש עד שובך אל האד'מ כי ממנה לוקחת כי עפר אתה ואל עפר תשוב בטבעד וגם מתחלה היה אוכל מפרי העץ ומזרע הארץ אכם כן היתה בו התכה וסבת הויה והספר ועל דעת רבותי' אלמלא שחטא לא מת לעולם כי הנשמה העליונית נותנת חיים לעד והחפץ האלהי אשר בו בעת היצירה יהיה דבק בו תמיד והוא יקיים אותו לעד כמו שפירשתי וירא אלהי' כי טוב ודע כי אין ההרכב' מורה על ההפסד אלא לדעת קטני אמנה כי הבריא' היא בחיוב אבל לדעת אנשי האמונה האומרי' כי העולם מחודש בחפץ אלוה פשוט גם הקיום יהיה בו לעד כל ימי החפץ וזה אמת ברור א"כ ביום אכלד ממנו מות תמות שאז תהיה בן מות לא תתקיים לעד בחפצי והאכילה היתה לו מתחלה לענג ויתכן שפירות גן עדן נבלעים באיברים כמן ומקיימין את אוכליהן וכאשר גזר עליו ואכלת את עשב השד' ובזעת אפיו יאכל לחת האדמ' היה זה סבה להפסד " In the day : כי עפר הוא ועפר יאכל ואל עפר ישוב thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die; as soon as thou eatest thereof, thou shalt be guilty of death. Similar to this is the passage, On the day thou goest abroad, and walkest hither and thither; know for certain, that dying thou shalt die: the meaning of which is, not that he should die forthwith on the very day, nor yet the disclosure to him

of the fact, that he should have to die, for all the living know very well, that they must die; but the meaning of it is, that, as soon as ever he should go abroad, he would become guilty of death to the king, and, that the latter might then kill him, whenever he pleased. So likewise the passages; But, when the holy things are covered, they shall not go in to see, and die; But they shall not, because of it, bear sin, and die therein; have no other import, than, that the persons, so doing, shall become guilty of death, and die in that their According to the principles, however, of natural philosophers, man, in consideration of his being a compound, was from the very beginning of the creation prepared and fitted for death; only it had been previously decreed, that, in case he sinned, he should die in his sin, after the manner of those who are guilty of death, by the hand of God, on account of any transgression; as for instance, he who eats of the first fruits, or is drunk with wine, or is destitute of the proper garments, and the like things; it being thereby meant, that they should die in their sin, before the expiration of their natural term of life. That, therefore, the Scripture saith in denouncing the punishment, Until thou return to the ground, because thence wast thou taken; for dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return by virtue of thine own nature. That from the very first he did eat of the fruits of

the tree, and of the seed of the earth; and so contained within himself the means and cause of his existence and dissolution. But the opinion of our fathers most unquestionably is, that, if he had not sinned, he would never have died; for the celestial afflatus giveth life perpetually, and the divine pleasure attendant on him at the time of his creation would have constantly adhered to him, and have caused him to subsist for ever, according to the exposition which I have given of the text, And God saw, that it was good. It likewise deserves to be remarked, that composition does not necessarily imply dissolution, except in the mind of the infidel, whose hypothesis is, that the creation was effected by the law of necessity; but, according to the opinion of the faithful, that the world was created simply at the pleasure of Jehovah, there is nothing to hinder, but that it may in like manner subsist thereby for ever, during all the days of that pleasure; than which there cannot be a more certain truth. To eat was, originally, for the delight of his palate; nor is it at all improbable, that the fruits of the garden of Eden, like so much manna, were absorbed into the limbs, and invigorated those who ate of them. But, when it was decreed against him, that he should eat of the grass of the field, and by the effervescence of his nostrils should eat the bread of the ground, this then became the cause of his destruction; for dust he is, VOL. II.

and dust shall he eat, and unto dust shall he re-מות תמות אין הכונה שימות ** By R. Bechai אין הכונה שימות ביום אכלו אלא שיהיה בן מות כי על דעת רז"ל לולי שחטא לא ימות לעולם אבל יהיה קיים נצחי כמלאכי השרת ועל דעת חכמי המחקר אלו לא חטא האד' היה מת מיתה טבעית לפי שכל מורכב סופו שיפרדי וימות מיתה טבעית כי ענין מוכרח הוא בדרך הטבע לשוב כל מורכב לשרשו ולעקרו ולפי זה כונת הכתוב מות תמות זו מיתה מקרית שרוב בני אדם מתים בה ודעתם לומר שאפילו לא חטא אדם היה מת מיתה טבעית וכאשר חטא השליט עליו חטאו מיתה מקרית שימות קודם זמנו כדין מחוייב מיתה בידי שמים וענין כפל המיתה לפי שהמיתות המקריות הם שתים כענין שכתוב כי אם ה' ינפנו או יומו יבא ומת או במלחמה ירד ונספה ומה שאמר או יומו יבא זו מיתה טבעית וכיון ששלם' עליו בחטאו מיתה מקרית הוצרך למנוע עץ החיים הנצחיים הטבעיים על כן נקרא עץ החיים עץ שמגיעו אל החיים הטבעיים עד בא זמן פרוד הרכבתו ומצילו מן המיתה המקרית ולשון וחי לעולם אינו אל לא תכלית אלא זמן קצוב כלשון ועבדו לעולם וישכ שם עד עולם ולפי דעתם ואת אלו מנעו תחלה מעץ החיי' וחטא בו לאכול ממנו הוא הדין שיהיה מונע ממנו ג"כ עץ הדעת כדי שלא תשלוט עליו מיתה מקרית שכבר ניצל ממנו באכלו מעץ החיים ויש להם ראיות על מה שיסמכו לפי דעתם והייתי כותב שנים או שלשה מהם לולי שדעתם כנגד העקר והוא דעת רז"ל ואנו אין ראוי לנו להאמין ולקבוע מסמרות אלא מדברי רז"ל המקובלים מפי הנביאים שאלמלא שחטא היה חי לעולם וכן אמר הכתוב אני

^{*} Com. Gen. ii. 17, fol. 13, col. 3, 4, Amst. ed. 1726.

אמרתי אלהים אתם ובני עליון כלכם ולא אמר כאלהים וכבני עליון אלא אלהי' ממש ובני עליון ממש ורבו הכתוכים "Dying thou shalt die: the meaning is על זה: not, that he should die on the day of his eating it; but, that he should be liable to die; for, according to the opinion of our fathers of blessed memory, if he had not sinned, he would never have died: but have subsisted to eternity, like the ministering angels. In compliance, however, with the principles of natural philosophers, in case the first man had not sinned, he would still have died a natural death; because that every compound in the end is dissolved and dies a natural death, it being, they they say, a necessary law of nature, that every compound form shall return to its original elements: and, that, accordingly, the words, Dying thou shalt die, are to be interpreted of an accidental or untimely death, by which the greater part of mankind are generally cut off. The sum of their opinion is this, that, if Adam had not sinned, he would have died a natural death; but, that, as he did sin, his sin subjected him to a premature death; so that he should die before his time, like one condemned to suffer death at the hands of God. That the term, death, is doubly expressed, because untimely deaths are of two sorts, agreeably to the Scripture, But the Lord will either smite him; or his day will come, that he die; or he will descend into the battle, and there perish: that, when

the Scripture saith, Or his day shall come, that he die; the same is to be understood of a natural death. That, since, in consideration of his sin, he had become liable to a premature death, it was necessary to debar him from the tree of naturally lasting life; which, because it would have brought him to the period of natural life, until the timely dissolution of his compound frame, as well as have delivered him from accidental death, was, therefore, denominated the tree of life. That the words, And he live for ever, do not signify, that he should live to eternity; but only for a limited period, like the expressions, And they shall serve for ever; And he shall there abide for ever. Thus, agreeably to this opinion of theirs, if at the first he had been debarred from the tree of life, and had committed sin by eating of it; consistency requires, that he should have been likewise debarred from the tree of knowledge, in order that premature death might not have the dominion over him, forasmuch as he had been already rescued from it by his eating of the tree of life. In support of their doctrine, however, they allege several arguments, two or three of which I would have produced, were it not that their opinion is wholly repugnant to the faith. Such is the doctrine of our fathers of blessed memory; and we are not at liberty to believe or acknowledge any traditions except from the words of our fathers of blessed me-

mory, as handed down to us from the mouth of the prophets; and these are, that, if Adam had not sinned, he would have lived for ever. So the Scripture saith, I have said, that ye are all Gods; and sons of the Most High. It does not say; Like Gods; and like sons of the Most High; but, positively, Gods; and positively, sons of the Most High: and to this effect many other passages might easily be produced." By R. Lipman:* ואל תשיבני ממה שאר"ול שעל ידו נקנסה מיתה לכל עולם כי מן אכילת פרי העץ קבל הגוף טבע פרידות היסודות ואותו טבע נכנס בטיפת הזרע עד סוף כל הדורות אבל קודם האכילה היתה טבעית אדם עדיפה מטבעית הבהמה והיתה ראויה להתקיים כי בקיום הנשמה הטהורה אפשר שיתקיים נופו שהוא כליו כל ימות העולם: "Nor let what our fathers of blessed memory have asserted, be objected to me, that by his means death accrued to the whole world; for from the eating of the fruit of the tree, the body acquired a natural tendency to the dissolution of its first elements; and this found its way into the production of the seed to all generations. But before the eating of the fruit. the nature of the man vastly excelled the nature of the brute, and was capable of subsisting for ever: because by the eternal subsistency of the pure soul, it was possible enough for the body to have subsisted as its vessel all the days of the world." By R.

^{*} Nitsachon, Gen. ii. 17, p. 10, Altorf ed. 1644.

Isaac Abarbinel:* ואמנם מה היה ענין עץ החיים ועץ הדעת כבר ידעתי דעת ח"זל שאדם הראשון אם לא חטא לא היה מת ועם היות שלא נתישר זה בעיני הרא"בע הנה באמ' אינו נמנע כי כאשר יודה שעץ החיים היה מוסיף ימי' להחיות אדם שנים רבות ועצומות מאד מי המונע שישוה לחיותיו ואכיותיו עד שיתמיד בחיים ולא ימות כי אין הכוונה שה'י אדם נצחי בטבעו כאחד מצבא המרום שיהיה נמנע בו ההפסד והמו' אבל היה נצחיותו בחסד אלדי שהכין עניני חייו באופן יוכל המלט והנצל מכל "But whatever may be the import of : סבות המות: the tree of life, or of the tree of knowledge, I am well aware of the opinion of our sages, of blessed memory, that, if the first man had not sinned, he would not have died; and though in the estimation of Aben Ezra, it is a most erroneous doctrine; yet, certainly, it is by no means a thing impossible; for since he himself confesses, that the tree of life was productive of longevity, so as to make the man live very many years; what hinders, but that it might have continued to add to the essence and properties of life, so that he should always have been preserved alive, and have never died? For we do not mean to contend, that man by his own nature was eternal, like one of the host of heaven, so that death and dissolution could not befal him; but, that his perpetuity was dependent on the grace of God, who had adapted the nature of his life in such a manner as

^{*} Comment on the Pentateuch, fol. 23, col. 1.

to be capable of deliverance and escape from all causes of death whatsoever." By R. Abraham Seba :* ביא' האשה בא גם בוו כי דבר ה' בותה ומיד בא עמה השטן הוא יצר הרע הוא מלאך המות הוא סמאל וואת היא אות סמך של ויסגור אות' ס' של סמאל הוא נחש שהטיל סם המות וזוהמא בחוה וסיבב מיתה באדם באכילת הפרי וזהו ותקת מפריו ותאכל ותתן גם לאישה עמה ויאכל ותפקחנ' עיני שניהם וכו' ראשי תיבות מות לאש' מות לאד' כי מיד באוכלם מתו ולכן ותפקחנה עיני שניהם כמו המתים שבמיתתם מיד נפקחנו עיניה' כמו שרמותי בפסיק ויוסף ישות ידו על עיניך אחר מיתתך לסותמם וזהו ותפקחנ' עיני שניה' וידעו כי ערומים הם אבל לא אמר ויראו כי המתי' אינם רואים אבל מידע ידעי כמוזכר בברכות ולכן לא אמר ויראו כי הם עורים ומתים כי החוטא חשוב כמת וכל זה בסבת האש' ולכן איה' ה' בריאתה כי טוב אשר עדין לא היתה ולכן לא אמר "For, with the coming בבריאתה אלא לא טוב: of the woman, came likewise contempt; as she despised the word of the Lord. At the same time with her, too, came Satan, that is, the evil principle, the same with the angel of death, the same is Samael: The letter, Samech, in the verb, ויסגור, And he closed, is no other than the, Samech, in Samael, that is, the serpent, who infused into Eve the poison of death and venom; and was the cause of death in Adam, by the eating of the fruit. This, too, is the meaning of the Scripture, And she took of its

^{*} Tseror Hammor, fol. 7, col. 3, Venet. ed. 1567.

fruit, and did eat; and she gave to her husband with her, and he did eat; and the eyes of them both were opened, &c. The initial letters of the words of which give, Death to the woman, and death to the man; as, immediately, upon their eating, they were dead; and, consequently, the eyes of them both were opened, like as the eyes of the dead at the time of their departure are opened that instant, according to what I have intimated in the Pasuk; And Joseph shall lay his hand upon thine eyes, after thou art dead, to close them. This is what the Scripture saith, And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked: it does not say, And they saw; for the dead do not see; but they know, according to what we have commemorated in Berachoth. For this reason, it does not say, And they saw; because they were blind, and dead; for every one, that sinneth, is considered as a dead man. Now, all this was caused by the woman; and, therefore, the Lord deferred her creation; for it would have been well, if she had never been: consequently, on she being created, he does but say, It is not good." By R. Moses Alpalasi:* ממנו שמה כלל העולה ממנו שעשה הק"בה לאדם הראשון על הדין ועל האמת עשאו ומה שעשה למשה בשעה שאמר לו והכית בצור אע"פי שכפי העיון הראשון לא חיה חייב מיתה אבל כמו שבאו מאותו אב שהביא מיתה לעולם על האמת הוא נמנע להנצל לשום

^{*} Vajakkel Mosche, fol. 70, col. 2, Venet. ed. 1597.

נברא בעולם ממנה ואע"פי שלא יעשה החטא הגדול כמו מה שעשה אביו למעוט יעשה חטא קטון שיקרא חטא בערך "The upshot of the whole is this, : החטא בעצמו that whatever the Lord did to the first man, he did it according to judgment and truth; and as to what he did to Moses at the time that he said to him, And thou shalt strike the rock; although, on the first view, he does not appear to have been guilty of death; yet, as all come from the very same father, who brought death into the world, it is truly impossible for any creature in the world to be delivered from it: and though he may not commit an egregious sin, like that which his primæval parent committed; nevertheless, he perpetrates a less sin, which on a reference to sin in the abstract is rightly termed sin." By the same on another occasion :* אתכם אתכם ברוך הוא האמת אתכם אלא מקרה אחד לצדיק ולרשע רוצה לומר אלו היה משה ואהרן אדם הראשון בלי ספק שלא ימותו אבל אחר שהמות נגזר על העולם בעבור אדם הראשון אין צריך שיהיה אדם חוטא הטא גמור לכשנגזר עליו מיתה אלא "But the Holy : אפי' שלא יקרא חטא מצד עצמו One, blessed be he, replied, The truth is with you; nevertheless there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked; that is to say, if Moses and Aaron had been the first man, they doubtless would not have died; but since by reason of the first man death hath been passed upon the world, it is not

* Hoil Mosche, fol. 30, col. 2, Venet. ed. 1597.

necessary that a person should be a perfect sinner; forasmuch as the penalty of death hath been awarded against him; for this he must sustain, if even what he may have done cannot be considered as sin of itself." By R. Elijah de Vidas:* זהארם אלו לא חטא לא היה צדיך לדדת אל הפחיתות הזה שהוא בו שיצרך לחרוש ולזרוע והיה בנ"ע מקיים לעבדה ולשמרה בקיום המצות עשה ול"ת בדרך רוחני כמו שיהיה לעתיד אחר התחיה שהתורה היא ומצוותיה א' לעולם: "If the man had not sinned, he would have had no need to descend to this poverty of condition in which he is circumstanced, so as to be compelled to plough and to sow; but would have remained perpetually in the garden of Eden to till and to keep it, through the stability of the positive and negative precepts, in a spiritual manner, like as he will in future after the resurrection of the dead; for the law and its precepts are one and the same to eternity." By R. Menasseh ben Israel: † Ut quæstionem hanc solvamus, inquiramus oportet, an Adamus si non peccâsset, moriturus fuisset, an vero immortalis semper vixisset? Cabbalistæ R. Moses Gerundensis, et R. Meir Gabbay, aliique plures statuunt Adamus si non peccâsset, semper victurum fuisse, etiamsi ea corporis e materia compositi conditione esset, ut mori posset; per lapsum vero sive peccatum morti necessariæ subjectum fuisse. Hæc sententia mihi videtur convenire non modo

^{*} Reshith Hocmah, fol. 129, col. 2. Amst. ed. 1776, † De Res. Mort. Lib. III, p. 332.

cum auctoritate Sacræ Scripturæ, et antiquorum; sed etiam cum ratione et experientia. "To resolve this question, we must institute the inquiry, whether Adam, in case he had not sinned, would have died; or, whether he would have been immortal, and lived for ever. The cabbalists, R. Moses Gerundensis and R. Meir Gabbay, together with many others, maintain, that, if Adam had not sinned, he would have lived for ever; though he had a body of such a texture as to be capable of dying: but, that, by means of his fall and transgression, he became necessarily subject to death. This opinion appears to me to square not only with the authority of the sacred Scriptures and of the fathers; but likewise with reason and experience." These evidences, the number of which might have been still further augmented, clearly demonstrate the doctrine of the Jewish church to be, that, if the first man had not been disobedient, he would have subsisted for even in the abodes of Paradise; but, that, as he violated the divine command, sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and, that, however virtuously or innocently we may live in this present state, we cannot escape the penalty of his transgression; but are naturally corrupted and depraved, and carry within us the hereditary seeds of death and dissolution.

This important point of doctrine being thus

firmly and satisfactorily established, we are necessarily led to inquire, whether for those fatal and tremendous effects of sin and transgression some adequate remedy may not have been devised and propounded by divine wisdom, whereby mankind should recover by grace what they had forfeited by crime; and, if any such remedy have been actually revealed, whether it embraces the whole extent of the evil, or merely supplies an atonement for the actual sin of individuals without any regard to the primæval offence: for it appears to me to be highly inconsistent with our notions of the Supreme Being, that an event so disastrous to the human species, and so prejudicial to the honour of the Deity, as the lapse of the first man, should not have been equally foreseen and provided for; if not in such a manner as to restore the majesty of the creature, at least in such a way as to redound to the glory and praise of the Creator. Now, there is nothing in the whole code of divine revelation so unequivocally clear as the mode of acceptably atoning for offences against God. The records of antedeluvian worship, the history of the patriarchal ages, the levitical law, yea the whole mass of Jewish tradition concur in testifying, that by sacrifice alone can atonement be made for the actual sins of men; that without the shedding of blood there is no remission; that neither repentance, nor restitution, nor amendment of life avails any thing

towards the expiation of their crimes, except it be accompanied with the blood of a victim. That this more especially was the belief of the Jewish church, I have proved at great length in my Fourth Letter to S. M. the Jew; where from a variety of unexceptionable authorities the reader cannot fail to be convinced, that with the ancient people of God no culprit, without the atonement of sacrifice, was taught to expect the remission of his sins; that for some crimes repentance and contrition were deemed unnecessary, for others unavailing; and that for all sins whatsoever, whether national or individual, except in cases of an obstinate refusal to make restitution and satisfaction, when practicable and necessary; or of a total defection from the principles of Judaism; there was instituted by divine appointment once a year a general expiatory sacrifice, which supplied the defects of all other expiations, and cleansed them as a nation from the guilt of transgression. In the same Letter I have further demonstrated, that, whether under the patriarchal or levitical dispensation, the idea which all true worshipers in the performance of their sacrifices were led to entertain, and which the Almighty designed should be impressed upon them, was, that by reason of the guilt which they had contracted, they had forfeited their own souls: but, that Jehovah was graciously pleased to accept of a commutation of punishment, the life of the

beast for the life of the man, the property instead of the person; yet property of such a complexion as to remind the culprit of the very heinous nature of sin, and of the tremendous penalty annexed to the commission of it. The existing and commonly received opinion, that repentance of itself is an adequate atonement for actual sin, I have there shewn to be a novel invention, the real offspring of necessity, whereby the present professors of Judaism would excuse their want of legal sacrifices, and support their claim to all the benefits of the Mosaic covenant; though contrary to the plainest statements both of the Scriptures and of the talmud. In corroboration of these positions, so triumphantly maintained in that Epistle, I have here somewhat more to add; but must first premise with an inquiry into what ought to be considered as the final cause of all religious sacrifices.

Now, with respect to the end or purpose of the institution of sacrifices, the more orthodox divines of the Jewish church, as R. Moses Gerundensis and R. Moses Alshech, confine their views within the scope of Scripture; and seek for no other final cause than the one there stated, that the use and design of them were really to make vicarious atonement and satisfaction for actual transgression; to procure for the culprit both pardon, and peace, and justification, by appeasing the anger and justice of God. Maimonides, however, and after him Abar-

binel, without altogether discarding this generally received doctrine, proceed to affirm, that the chief and ultimate view in the appointment of sacrifices was to wean the children of Israel from all intercourse with the idolaters, by confining exclusively to their God. Jehovah, that mode of divine worship to which the whole world had been so long addicted, and from which they could not have been prohibited without doing violence to their feelings. In support of their position they first of all allege, that the immolation of the victim was restricted to time and place; and confined to the hands of such priests only as were of the posterity of Aaron; whence they would draw the inference, that it must have been in the divine contemplation to have those ceremonies diminished; and, therefore, sacrifices and oblations could not, like other religious offices, have been instituted by God for the sake of themselves. They further maintain, that in the writings of the inspired penmen the vehement fondness of the Israelites to perform sacrifices is very frequently reprehended; an infallible proof, they think, that such like service was not esteemed either the most acceptable to God, or the most laudable in itself. In Samuel we read, "Whether are holocausts and sacrifices as agreeable to the Lord, as to be obedient to the voice of the Lord?" In Isaiah, "To what end do ye offer me so many sacrifices, saith the Lord?" In Jeremiah, "For I gave no orders to your forefathers, when I brought them forth out of Egypt, concerning the matter of holocausts and sacrifices; but this I commanded them, saying, Hearken ye to my voice, and I will become your God." In the Psalmist, " I shall not reprehend thee for thy sacrifices, nor for thy holocausts, constantly to be before me; nor yet shall I take a bullock from thy house, and so forth." The fathers, too, are cited in its favour. In Massecheth Menachoth it is said. "Whosoever is occupied in the law, has need neither of sin-offering, nor of holocaust, nor of tresspass-offering, nor of meat-offering." In Perek, Hem Haggolin, on the text, "For one day in thy courts is better than a thousand;" the gloss is, "The one day that thou sittest occupied in my presence is superior to the thousand holocausts, which hereafter thy son, Solomon, shall offer upon the altar." So in Medrash Rabboth, Veatta Tetsave, on the texts, "Take with you words;" "I will wash my hands in innocency;" "To attend to the voice of praise;" it is written, "Because Israel said, The princes sin, bring an oblation, and atone for themselves; the anointed priest sins, brings an oblation, and makes an atonement for himself: but what shall we do, who have no oblation to bring? The Lord said to them, I require from you words, not an oblation; and I will pardon all your iniquities, as the Scripture saith, Take with you words: and

for the same reason, I will wash my hands in innocency; not by offering an oblation, but by attending to the voice of praise, that I may thank and praise thee for the matter of the law." In Siphre, as well as at the close of Massecheth Menachoth, "R. Simeon ben Asai said, Come and see, how it is written in the section about oblations, that we there find no mention made either of the appellation, El, or Elohim; but only of the proper name, Jehovah; so that no room might be left for controversy or disputation. And lest you should argue, that he has need of meat, it is written, Do I eat the flesh of bulls? that is to say, I do not command you to sacrifice, so that you should say, We are doing the will of God. It is not for my pleasure, that you offer sacrifices, but for your own, as it is written in Scripture, Sacrifice according to your own pleasure." This circumstance, that in the whole account and description of sacrifices there is no mention made either of, El, or, Elohim, but only of Jehovah, is thought by Abarbinel to make much for the doctrine of Maimonides. For since, on his principle, the rites of oblation were ordained for the purpose of alienating the Jews from the service of idols, and of bringing them to the worship of Jehovah; the reason is apparent, why there should be no mention of the appellation, El, or Elohim, which are honorary titles, not unfrequently predicated of princes and heroes; but only of the name, Jehovah, blessed be he; as though the Scripture had expressly said, To him alone shall ve sacrifice, and not unto the idols. In Perek, Cal Haasur, "Tobias bar Mattaniah said, R. Joshia said, What is that text, Take care to offer to me at the appointed time? The emphasis is, To me, not to another. But who was that other lord to whom they might offer? The expression, doubtless, signifies, an idol or false god." In Vajikra Rabba, Acheri Moth, "R. Phineas in the name of R. Levi used to relate a parable of the son of a certain king, who was greatly beloved by his father. The young prince had accustomed himself to the food of animals, which had been found dead and torn by beasts of prey, The king gave order, that he should have these very things always to eat on the table; and then he would abstain from that which was dead and torn, of his own accord. So in like manner, because Israel had been warmly attached to the practice of idolatry, and, contrary to the law, had brought their oblations to the dæmons, and so punishment had overtaken them; the Holy One, blessed be he, gave command, that they should bring their oblations before himself into the tabernacle of the congregation, and by that mean they would withdraw themselves from the worship of idols, agreeably to the Scripture, Every one of the house of Israel,

that shall slay a sacrifice, and so forth." This harrative, says Abarbinel, clearly proves, that the opinion of the fathers of blessed memory coincided with that of Maimonides; and, as the doctrine here taught is to be understood not of any particular species of sacrifice, but of sacrifices in general, he expresses his great astonishment, that R. Moses Nachmanides, who was so perfect a master of the talmud, should not have perceived, that this very passage fortified the author of *More Nevochim*, though he himself had adduced it in confutation of that opinion.

Such being the grounds of argument on which both Maimonides and Abarbinel contend, that the ultimate design of instituting legal sacrifices was merely to prevent the children of Israel from offering them to idols; so that, if they had not already been the accustomed worship of mankind, they would neither have been enjoined nor permitted by God; and, as this is a doctrine which, because it affords a plausible answer, why the levitical atonements have been so long in disuse, is likely to have some weight with the present professors of Judaism. I shall expose the artfulness and futility of their reasons, and, with the help of God, will leave neither Maimonides nor Abarbinel so much as a leg to stand on in defence of their post. It deserves to be remarked, however, that they by no means deny the mode of acceptably atoning for sin

and guilt to have been one intention of the appointment of sacrifice; and, therefore, if we can prove, on the authorities of the Jewish church, that the other intention of spoiling the false gods of their ordinary victims was not at all in the divine contemplation, we shall be left in the peaceful possession of the old scriptural and traditional belief, that the final cause of all sacrifices was to procure for us the remission of our sins, and, thereby, to sanctify and qualify us for communion with Jehovah; sin, according to the unanimous declaration of the whole Jewish church, being the only thing which can effect a separation between God and the soul.

To begin with the passages alleged from the prophets. These, on the supposition, that the performance of sacrifice was designed as a remedy for the disease of sin, and not as an act of positive virtue, will admit of a rational and easy solution. For in that view it is evident, that this species of worship must be liable to extreme abuse; and the multiplication of victims will be an infallible sign of the multiplication of guilt, arising either from an indisposition in man to abstain from sinning, or from a mistaken and false presumption, that to sin, and then to atone for it, is as acceptable in the sight of God as to preserve an integrity and innocence of life. Hence Samuel put the question to Saul, whether the Lord had as much pleasure in

holocausts and sacrifices, as in obedience to his word; subjoining, that to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. The difficulty, if any, is cleared up by the gloss of R. Levi ben Gersom : * הנה זה מבואר כי העולות והזבחי יבאו על החטאי' כמו שהתבאר בתור' ולזה הוא מבואר כי הוא יותר טוב שישמר אדם מהחטא ולא יצטרד " Behold this is a thing most evi- : לאלו הקרבנות dent, that holocausts and sacrifices, as we clearly see in the law, are brought for sins; and, therefore, it must be equally apparent, that it would be preferable, that man should keep himself free from sin, and so have no need of those oblations." The like gloss we have from the pen of Abarbinel, who, though extremely diffusive in his exposition of this passage, has made no reference. whatever, to the doctrine of Maimonides: + ווה אמת שהזבחים הם תקון החטאים ויותר טוב הוא אצל השם ית' שלא יחטא האדם משיחטא ויביא קרבן "This is the truth of the matter. Sacrifices : עליו are a corrective for sins. But, it would be much more agreeable to the Lord, that man should not sin at all, than, that he should commit sin, and then bring an offering for it." The passage in Isaiah cannot be better illustrated than as we find it by R. David Kimchi : למה לי רוב זבחיכם אף על פי שהיו מזבחים ומקטרי' בבמות היו מביאים גם כן קרבנות לבית המקדש בחדשים ובמועדים והואיל ואתם עוזבי' תורתי *Com. 1 Sam. xv. 22. †Com. 1 Sam. xv. 22. ‡Com. Isaiah, i. 11.

למה לי רוב זבחיכם כי לא צויתי אתכם עליהם אלא כדי שתזכרוני ותעלוני על לבבכם תמיד ולא תחשאו ואם חטאתם שתתודו עם הקרבן ותשובו מדרכיכם הרעים ואלו עשיתם כן היו לי לריח ניחוח כמו שאמור בתורה אבל עתה אני קץ בהם ומואסם כאדם השבע מן הדבר שהוא קץ בו ומואסו וזהו שאמר שבעתי עולות אלים ודם פרים "To what purpose do ye offer me :'וכבשים ונו': such a multitude of your sacrifices? Although they were sacrificing and burning incense on the high places; they at the same time brought oblations to the sanctuary every month, and at the stated festivals. But since, says he, ye forsake my law, why have I so many of your sacrifices; for I gave you no commandment about them; but, that ve should remember me, and perpetually extol me in your hearts; and, that ye should not commit sin. But, that, if ye should sin, ye should make a confession of it with the oblation, and should return from your evil ways; and, that, in case ye did so, they would be to me for a savour of a sweet smell. as is declared in the law. Now, however, like a man that is surfeited with any thing which he is tired of, and which he is beginning to despise; I am weary of them, and do contemn them: and this is the purport of the text; I am glutted with the holocausts of rams, and the blood of bullocks, and lambs, and so forth." To the same effect writes Abarbinel himself:* והוא אמרו למה לי רוב זבחיכם

^{*} Com. Isaiah, i. 11.

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יאמר יי' בלומר אל תדמו בנפשכם להתרצות לפני השם עם רוב הזבחי' כי הוא אלקינו לא יחפץ בזה כי אם "This is what is שישמעו דבריו ויאזינו בתורתו: meant by the words, Why have I so many of your sacrifices, saith the Lord? As though he had said, Do not imagine within yourselves to appear acceptable before me with a multitude of sacrifices; because he, our God, will not be pleased with this, except they hear his words, and hearken to his law." So likewise R. Moses Alshech:* כי אין חפצו ית' בובח הבא על חטא כי טוב טוב הי' העדר הסיבה אד זובח תודה שאיננה באה על חטא יכבדהו ובזה יאמר למה לי רוב זבחיכם כלומ' הרוב שהם הבאים על חטא למה לי כלומר כי לא אחפוץ רק במיעום שהם הבלתי באים על חטא: "For the Lord hath no pleasure in that sacrifice which is offered for sin; as the best thing of all would be the removal of the cause altogether: but the sacrificer of praise, which is not presented on account of sin, honoureth him. So here he says, Why have I so many of your sacrifices? that is, so many of those which are offered for sin. Why have I? as though he had said, For I have pleasure but in very few, and those such as are not offered for sin." But with respect to the words of Jeremiah, no other comment is necessary than that כתב הרב המורה בפ' לב" ח"ג שכבר †: of Abarbinel הוקשה זה המאמר בעיני כל מי שנשמעו דבריו רוצה לומר שלא צונו בדברי עול' חבח לפי שהנה רוב המצות

^{*} Com. Isaiah i. 11. † Com. Jer. vii. 22.

אמנם באו בזה והשיב הרב על זה שתי תשובות האחד שהיא כונת הכתוב לומר שרצון הש"י וכונתו היד שישיגוהו בני ישראל ולא יעבדו זולתו והוא יהיה להכם לאלקים והמה יהיו לו לעם ושמצות הקרבנות ועבודת הבית אמנם היתה בעבור שתעלה בידנו הפנה הואת ובעבורה העתיק אלו העבודות לשמו עד שימחה שם ע"ז ומתקיים פנת יחודו ושבני ישראל בטלו התכלית ההוא והתחזקו במה שנעשה בעבורו כי הכם ספקו במציאותו כמו שאמ' כחשו בה' ויאמרו לא הוא ועבדו ע"ז וקטר לבעל והלך אחרי אלקים אחרים והיו באים אל הבית ומקריבים הקרבנות שלא היו מכוונים כונה ראשונה זאת היא תשובתו הראשונה וכפי דרכו זה יהיה פירוש הפסוק כי לא דברתי אל אבותיכם ולא צויתים על דברי עולה וזבח בכונה ראשונה וכו' ואתה רואה שהעקר חסר מן הפסוק הזה כי לא נזכר בו כוונה ראשונה ולא שנייה ולכן הפירוש הזה אינו נכון והתשובה השנית שזכר הרב היא בדייקו אומרו ביום הוציאי אותם מארץ מצרים והוא שכבר התבאר בפסוק ובקבלה יחד שתחילת המצוות שנצטוינו בהם לא היה בדברי עולה וזבח כלל כי הנה בראשונה אחרי יציאת מצרים התחילו לקבל מצות במרה ולא קבלו שם אלא שבת ודינים כדברי חכמים ז"ל וכמו שאמר שם שם לו חוק ומשפט אבל לא היו במצוות ההם דברי עולה וזבח והוקשה לרב ענין פסח מצרים שהיה קרבן חבח והשיב שהמצוה ההיא היתה לסבה אחרת ושלא נצטוו עליה אלא במצרים לא אחרי היציאה משם וגם הפירוש הזה איננו נכון אצלי לפי שמה להם לישראל שיהיו הקרבנות המצוה הראשונה שנצטוו בה או שתהיינה מצוות אחרות ראשונ' ואחריהן מצות הקרבנות כי הנה לא ימלם מהיות הקרבנות מצוה אלקית. בין שתהיה ראשונה שנית או

שלישית מהת"ריג מצות ומה זה לענין התוכחה ולכן הנראה לי בפירוש הפסוק הוא שהנה ישראל כשיצאו ממצרים ובאו לפני הר סיני ושמעו התורה והמצות לא צום השם דבר מענין הקרבנות אבל צום עניני האמונות והמעשים המשובחים אשר יעשו האמנם כאשר עשו הענל וראה השם יתברך שרירות לבם הרע ובכל יום ויום יחטאו לפניו הוצרך לתקן להם צרי ורפואה למחלתם ורשעיהם ולכן באו מצות הקרבנות מהעולות אשר יעשו לכפר על הרהורי לבם ומהחטאת והאשם ושאר מיני הקרבנות כלם שלא נצטוו "This declaration of : עליהם אילו לא היו חוטאים Scripture, says the author of More Nevochim, part the third, chapter the thirty-second, has appeared a great difficulty in the eyes of all who have weighed the terms of it; namely, that he gave us no commandment about holocaust and sacrifice, when for certain the greater part of the precepts concern this very matter. To this the learned Rabbi furnishes two answers; the one, that the meaning of the Scripture is, that the good pleasure and design of Jehovah were, that the children of Israel should apprehend him, and do service to no other besides; that he should be their God, and, that they should be his people. That the commandments respecting the oblations and the service of the sanctuary were in reality for no other end than, that, by our means, this corner-stone might be raised; and for the sake of which he had appropriated to his own name those modes of worship, until the name of every idol should be abo-Vol. II.

lished, and the corner-stone of his unity be firmly established. That the children of Israel had lost sight of the end, and attended only to the means; for they doubted of his existence, as the Scriptures declare, They gave the lie to Jehovah, and said, He is not. They worshiped idols, burnt incense to Baal, and went after other gods. They entered the temple, and offered oblations, which had not been designed with a primary view to themselves. This is his first answer, and agreeably to it, the sense of the verse will be, For I spake nothing to your fathers, nor gave them any commandment concerning the matter of holocaust and sacrifice with a primary view to themselves, and so forth. But you will perceive, that there is no ground for it in the verse itself; for there is no mention in it either of a primary or a secondary view, and consequently the exposition is highly improbable. The second answer which the author has devised, is by adhering closely to the literal sense of the words, On the day I brought thee forth out of Egupt; it being equally manifest, as well from Scripture as from tradition, that the first of the precepts which they received in charge, was not about the matters of holocaust and sacrifice at all; for, behold, immediately after their exit out of Egypt, they began with receiving precepts at Marah; but there they had nothing enjoined them, except the sabbath and the judgments, according to the words of our sages of blessed memory, and as the Scripture saith, There had he statute and judgment set; but the matters of holocaust and sacrifice were not included in those precepts. The learned Rabbi, however, seems to have felt himself pressed with the objection from the Passover in Egypt, which was a real oblation and sacrifice; and by way of reply informs us, that this precept was on a different account; and, that it was enjoined them in Egypt only, not after their departure thence. But neither is this exposition, in my opinion, at all probable; for what difference could it make to Israel, whether oblations were the first commandment enjoined them, or other commandments were given first, and afterwards the commandment of oblations; since, do as you please, oblations must needs be a divine precept, whether it stand the first, or the second, or the third of the six hundred and thirteen commandments? This, I say, could afford no ground for reprehension. The exposition of the verse, therefore, I take to be, that, when Israel departed from Egypt, and came to mount Sinai, and heard the law and the precepts; the Lord did not say any thing to them relative to the matter of oblations, but charged them with matters of faith and good works which they should have to perform. Nevertheless, when they had made for themselves a calf, and the Lord saw the propension of their evil

hearts, that every day they would be sinning in his presence; he was constrained to appoint them a medicine and a cure for their infirmity and transgression. Hence came the precepts of oblations of holocausts, which they were to offer for the thoughts of their hearts; of sin-offerings, and trespass-offerings, and all other species of oblations; which would not have been enjoined them, if they had not proved themselves sinners." Nothing can be more opposed to the doctrine of Maimonides than these positions of Abarbinel; and, therefore, I am somewhat astonished, that Ludovicus de Veil should have subjoined to his translation of the treatise of Maimonides on Sacrifices the whole of his preface to the book of Leviticus, as corroborative of the statements of his author, without noticing what the same Abarbinel here wrote eight years afterwards in direct opposition to what he had there alleged in support of Maimonides. Doubtless, when he penned his commentary on Jeremiah, he had either forgotten, or he despised, what he had stated in the preface to his Leviticus: but, whether the one or the other were the fact, his authority for the doctrine of Maimonides is completely neutralised. The words of the Psalmist are equally well explained by R. David Kimchi:* דברית אשר כרתי אתך עד ביני וביניך כי השמים והארץ שהיו העדים קיימים הם

^{*} Com. Ps. L. 8.

ויעידו כי קבלת אותי לאלוה כשאמרתי לך תחילה אלהים אלהיך אנכי כמו שאמר אנכי ה' אלהיך וקבלת אותי לאלוה על מה שאצוה עליך ולא עשית ועל זה אוכיחד לא על הזבחים כי אין בעשרת חדברים זכר לזבחים ואין דבר הקרבנות דבר גדול בעיני שאם בטלתם אוכיח אותד על זה אלא אוכיח אתכם על הטוב ועל הרע באמונה ובמעשים: "The covenant which I made with thee, is a witness between me and thee; yea the heavens and the earth, which are eternal witnesses, will testify, that thou didst receive me for a God in whatsoever I should enjoin thee; but thou hast not performed it. For this I shall chide thee, not on account of the sacrifices; as there is no mention of sacrifices in the ten commandments; nor is the matter of oblations so important a thing in my sight, that I should chide thee about it, if even thou hadst ceased to offer them: but I shall chide you for the good and evil in respect of faith and works." So likewise by R. Moses Alshech:* לא על זבחך אוכיחך כו' לומר אל ישלה על רוחך כי למען הנאת קרבנותיך אני מוכיחך על חטאתיך למען תביא לי קרבנות ליהנות מהם חלילה ומה גם שתחשוב כן על העולה שכולה כליל כי הלא לא על זבחיך שתקריב אוכנחך למען תזבח לפייסני בזבחיך כי הלא אתה דע לך כי לא בלבד אשר לא תקריב של מזבחי רק חלב ודם כי אם אפילו עולות אשר כולם כליל לא אחפוץ כי טוב היה שלא להרהר רע להביאם ואם פעם הרהרת ותביא עולה הפצתי בה לתקון נפשך אך אם תתמיד בהרהורים רעים תמיד ותעלה לי עולות

^{*} Torath Moshe, fol. 172. col. 3. Amst. ed. 1777.

תמיד עולה על כל הרהור הלא אקוץ בד כי טוב שלא "I shall not re- יתביא ברבוי: משתהרהר משתהרהר prehend thee for thy sacrifices, and so forth; that is, let it not enter into thy mind, that, for the sake of enjoying thy oblations, I am going to chide thee for thy sins; that thou shouldst bring me offerings for my benefit, by no means. Thou art not to en-· tertain any such thought as this, not even of the holocaust, which is wholly consumed; for, be assured, I shall not reprehend thee for thy sacrifices which thou oughtest to offer, in order that thou mayest sacrifice so as to appease me with victims. Nay, assure thyself, that neither because thou bringest upon my altar nothing besides the fat and the blood, nor yet that thou offerest the holocausts, which are wholly burnt, will I be pleased with thee; since it would be preferable not to think an ill thought at all, so as to give any occasion to their being brought. Nevertheless, shouldst thou chance to harbour evil in thy mind, and so bring an holocaust, I shall acquiesce in it as a corrective for thy soul; but, if thou continuest daily in evil thoughts, and offerest up to me daily holocausts, I shall most certainly despise thee: as it would be infinitely better, that thou shouldst not think evil at all, than that thou shouldst think evil, and have so many times to offer for it." These sensible remarks of Kimchi, Abarbinel, and Alshech, it were easy to fortify by others of equal authority, and still further

to demonstrate the repugnance of this doctrine of Maimonides to the principles of the Jewish church. But they are sufficient for the elucidation of the texts in question; and must convince the reader, that it was the abuse of the institution of sacrifices, and not the inutility of the institution itself, of which the prophets complained.

The passages from the talmud are next to be considered. In Menachoth, it is true, Rabba says, that he who is occupied in the law, has need neither of holocausts, nor of meat-offering, nor of sin-offering, nor of trespass-offering; but this, like many other general assertions, is meant to be qualified at least with one crumb of salt. In one of the gospels. we read of nine hundred and ninety-nine just persons, that needed no repentance; not that the righteousness of any man living is so absolutely perfect as literally to supersede the necessity of repentance; but, because repentance was not so much needed by them, as by those who were wallowing in iniquity. So in like manner, if we attend to the gloss of Maharsha, by far the most diffusive and luminous of the talmudic expositors, we shall perceive the true import of this passage of the talmud:* אלא דכל העוסק בתורה א"צ לא עולה כו' דלאו כאלו הקריב לחוד הוה דהיינו אחר שנתחייב בהו אלא דהתורה מגנא ומצלא שלא יבא לידי חטא שיתהייב קרבן עליה

^{*} Een Yaacob, Part II. fol. 172, col. 1. Amst. ed. 1740.

"But every one that is occupied בכומה: "But every one that is occupied in the law, has need neither of holocaust, &c. not as though it were by itself the same thing as to offer, when once he has involved himself in the obligation to bring them; but, because the law shields and rescues him from the commission of sin, so that he is not in duty bound to offer any oblation for it, as they say in Massecheth Sota." Nor does the dedeclaration in Massecheth Maccoth, that one day spent in the courts of Jehovah would be better than all the thousand holocausts to be offered by Solomon, at all interfere with the truth of our argument; for that, as we cannot but see, is merely a comparison between the positive virtue of spiritual devotion and the relative merit of offerings for sin; the holocaust, according to the doctrine of the Jewish church, being an expiatory sacrifice for the wickedness of the heart. In citing from Medrash Rabboth, the learned Abarbinel has greatly curtailed the original; and so given a turn to the quotation, which the context does not warrant. To prove this, we need but give the conference between Jehovah and his people in a more perfett form:* לפי שישראל אומרת רבון העולם הנשיאים חוטאים ומביאים קרבן ומתכפר להם משיח חוטא ומביא קרבן ומתכפר לו אנו אין לנו קרבן אמר להם ואם כל עדת ישראל ישגו וגו' א"ל עניים אנו ואין לנו להביא קרבנות א"ל דברים אני מבקש שנאמר קחו עמכם דברים ושובו אל יי" ואני מוחל

^{*} Medrash Rabboth, fol, 137. col. 4. Amst, ed. 1725.

על כל עונותיכם ואין דברים אלא דברי תורה שנאמ' אלה הדברים אשר דבר משה אמרו לו אין אנו יודעין אמר להם בכו והתפללו לפני ואני מקבל אבותיכם כשנשתעבדו במצרים לא בתפלה פדיתי אותם שנאמר ויאנחו בני ישראל מן העבודה ויזעקו בימי יהושע לא בתפלה עשיתי להם ניסים שנ' ויקרע יהושע שמלותיו ומה אמרתי לו נטה בכידון בימי השופטים בבכיה שמעתי צעקתם שנא' ויהי כי זעקו בני ישראל אל יי" בימי שמואל לבתפלה שמעתי להם שנ' ויזעק שמואל אל יי" בעד ישראל ויענהו יי" וכן אנשי ירושלים אע"פ שהכעיסוני בשביל שבכו לפני רחמתי עליהם שנאמ' כה אמר יי" רנו ליעקב שמחה וגו' הוי איני מבק' מכם לא זבחים ולא קרבנות אלא דברים שנאמר קחו עמכם דברים ושובו אל יי" לכך אמר דוד ארחץ בנקיון כפי אינו אומר להקריב לך אלא, לשמוע בקול תודה שאני מודה לך על דברי " Because that Israel said, Governor of the world, the princes sin, and bring an offering, and an atonement is made for them; the anointed priest sins, and brings an offering, and an atonement is made for him; whereas we have no offering: he said to them, If all the congregation of Israel shall sin through ignorance, &c. They said to him, We are poor, and have no oblation to offer. He said to them, I require words, as it is said, Take with you words, and return to the Lord; and I will purdon all your iniquities. The words are no other than the words of the law, as it is said, These are the words, which Moses spake. They said to him, We do not know, how. He said to Vol. II.

them, Weep, and pray before me, and I will receive you. Did I not redeem your fathers through prayer, when they were enslaved in Egypt, as it is said, And the children of Israel groaned under the pressure of servitude, and cried out? In the days of Joshua, did I not through prayer perform miracles for them, as it is said, And Joshua rent his clothes? But what did I say to him? Stretch out the spear. In the days of the Judges, on a lamentation being made, I heard their cry, as it is said, And it came to pass, when the children of Israel cried unto the Lord. In the days of Samuel, did I not hearken to them by prayer, as it is said, And Samuel cried unto the Lord in behalf of Israel; and the Lord answered him. So likewise, though the men of Jerusalem had excited my anger; in consideration of their weeping before me, I had compassion on them, as it is said, Thus saith the Lord, Sing with gladness for Jacob, and so forth. Behold, I require of you neither sacrifices, nor oblations; but words, as it is written, Take with you words, and return to the Lord. David, therefore, says, I will wash my hands in innocency: he does not say, that I may make oblations unto thee, but, that I may attend with the voice of praise, whereby I thank thee for the words of the law." From this dialogue no argument is to be deduced in favour of the opinion, that sacrifices were not instituted for the sake of themselves, but

imposed with the view of separating the Jewish people from all intercourse with the idolaters. So far from that, it furnishes a most evident proof of the efficacy of oblations, as being the only instituted medium for the remission of sins; for, on the first complaint of the Israelites, that they could not atone for themselves like the princes and the anointed priest, the Lord refers them to the levitical dispensation, in which it is provided, that in case the whole congregation of Israel should sin through ignorance, they should bring a young bullock for an atonement, and the sin would be forgiven them; nor is it till they allege their poverty and inability to offer any oblation, that he reminds them of the ways in which they might still endeavour to find acceptance with him, by taking with them the words of the law, by returning to the Lord with a penitent heart, by crying and praying to him as they had done in times past; and, that, when thus weighed down with poverty and affliction, no more than this would be required at their hands. The design of the fable appears to have been to encourage the Jewish people, in their present exile and distress, to a general repentance and calling upon God, by an appeal to the testimony of the Scriptures for the certainty of the divine favour through faith and good works. In this point of view I cannot but concur with the talmud; for, certainly, it is not my meaning to contend, that

without the levitical atonements the Lord cannot pardon and absolve the sins of his people; but, that, without the shedding of blood, there is no covenanted pledge of the remission of guilt, and, that we have no proof either from the Scriptures or from the traditions of the church, that sin is to be obliterated without oblations and sacrifices. over, with respect to the tradition of R. Simeon ben Asai in Massecheth Menachoth, that the people were commanded to bring their oblations neither to El, nor to Elohim; but only to Jehovah, Abarbinel ought to have considered better than to allege it as an argument in support of Maimonides. R. Simeon certainly does say, that, in the section of the law concerning oblations, the name of Jehovah is exclusively mentioned; but for this circumstance he assigns his own reason, That there might be no occasion for controversy; not with the Jews, as Abarbinel seems to have supposed; but with the Epicureans, who, in case so vague a term as El. or Elohim, had been used, might have thence taken occasion to argue, that to any of the Elohim, as well as to Jehovah Elohim, had sacrifice been commanded to be offered. He likewise makes the Lord declare, that it was according to their own pleasure, and not according to his, that the people offered sacrifices at all; but by this nothing more is to be understood, than that he had no need of their victims; that it was not for his sake and advantage,

but for their own interest and benefit, that they brought their oblations. These things are rendered perfectly clear by the comments of Rashi and Maharsha: on this part of the talmud. Thus the former:* הדין לצדוקי לומר רשויות הרבה הם והדבר מוכיח שזה ששמו כך צוה להקריב לו מנחה וזה ששמו כך צוה להקריב לו פרים ואלים לכך נאמר בכולן ריח ניחוח לה': לא לרצוני אתם זובחים כלומר לא להנאתי שאני רוצה להטריח אתכם לעשות על כרחם: לרצונכם לצורך עצמכם לקיים מצותי שתהא לכם כפרה בכך: "Not to allow occasion to the adversary to dispute, that is, to the Saducæan to argue for a multitude of gods or first principles; the narrative plainly proving, that he, whose name is so called, commanded the meat-offering to be brought to him; and that he, whose name is so called, commanded the bullock and the rams to be offered to him: therefore it is said of them all, that they are a sweet smelling savour unto Jehovah. Not for my pleasure do ye sacrifice, that is, not for my benefit, that I should wish to teaze you to do so against your own minds. But for your own pleasure, for your own need, to establish my precepts, so that an atonement may be made for you thereby." So the latter : † ולא אלהים כו' משום דהקרבנות על הרוב באין לרצו' ולפיים את מדת הדין על חטא האדם ולא היה לו לכתוב בכלם ריח ניחוח לה' שהוא מדת הרחמים אלא שיהי' ריח ניחוח לגבי מדת הדין אל או אלהים ולא נכתב כן אלא *Een Yaacob, Part II, fol. 172, col. 1. † Ibidem, col. 2.

כדי שלא ליתן פתחון פה לבעל דין לחלוק שלשון זה כתיב גם בע"א בעבורתיה כגון לא תשתחוה לאל אחר ואלהים אחרים שלא יאמרו שהק"בה שהוא אלהא דאלוהות כדלעיל נתן לאלהים אחרים כח וממשלה בשפלים וצוה לעבדם לכך כתיב שם ה' שאין לעבוד רק לשם המיוחד: " Nor Elohim, and so forth; because that oblations for the most part are offered to delight and appease the attribute of justice for the sin of man, and it were improper to affirm of them all, that they are a sweet smelling savour to Jehovah; though right enough to say, that they are the savour of a sweet smell to the property of justice, El, or Elohim. Nevertheless, it is otherwise expressed, in order to allow of no pretext to the enemies of our faith to cavil; lest that, this term being employed to denote the objects of idolatrous service, as in the texts, Thou shalt not bow down to any other El, nor to any other Elohim; they should say, that the Holy One, blessed be he, who is the God of gods, had according to the above Scriptures given to other gods power and dominion in this lower world, and ordered them to be worshiped; therefore, the name of Jehovah is here written exclusively, as it is our duty to serve none but Jehovah only." In all this we have no allusion, whatever, to the inutility of sacrifices, or to their being a burden imposed on the Jewish nation from an indulgent regard to their incurable partiality for idolatrous rites; but rather the contrary, that they were primarily ordain-

ed for their special benefit and advantage, and that. were it not for the consideration, that they thereby obtain the remission of their sins, these sacrifices might be discontinued, for either pleasure or profit that they yield to Jehovah. I beg to remark, too, that in making the distinction between Jehovah and Elohim to consist in the properties of justice and mercy, Maharsha has followed the vestages of the Cabbala; and so suggested a ground for the admiration of the talmudic fathers, unnoticed by vulgar expositors. For certainly, as R. Bechai has strenuously maintained, sacrifices are to be offered to Jehovah Elohim, to the properties of mercy and justice conjointly; but more especially to that of justice, in order that the soul after death may return to the Elohim who gave it; and, therefore, with the cabbalistic school, it must always have been matter of high astonishment why, in the law concerning oblations, the term, Jehovah, should have been exclusively employed, when either Jehovah Elohim, or Elohim, by itself, would have been much more pertinent. But take the cause as assigned by the talmudist, that it was meant to preclude the polytheists from wresting this, as they did many portions of Scripture, to the support of their own tenets; and the wonder will cease without calling in the aid of More Nevochim. Hence there is no need to expatiate on the futility of the argument drawn from the language of R. Tobias, that to him

exclusively they were commanded to sacrifice; because of him alone they were directed to ask counsel in cases of embarrassment, from him only to supplicate succour in times of distress, on him solely to depend for victory in the field, and for prosperity at home; and, therefore, to contend with Maimonides, that the ultimate design of the institution of sacrifices was merely to wean the Israelites by degrees from their idolatrous habits, because the objects of idolatry are expressly excluded from any participation in this species of worship, would be the same as to argue, that the duties of calling and relying upon Jehovah were not enjoined for their own sake, but only permitted out of compassion to the weakness of the people; because in the discharge of these as well as of other pious offices, they were required to regard him to the exclusion of other deities. Finally, the parable of the king and the young prince, which should seem so favourably alleged, is inaccurately quoted, and strangely perverted. The reasons for determining the time and place of killing the victims, and not for the institution of sacrifices in general, are evidently the subject matter of this tradition. The king, whose son was so partial to flesh, that he took even of what was dead and torn, is said to have commanded such animal food, not now and then, but, constantly, to be upon his own table, in order that the young prince might at all times be able to gratify his palate without polluting his soul: for it is not meant to be inferred, that previous to this indulgence, it was contrary to the royal pleasure to eat animal food at all, or, that the young prince had no opportunity to partake of it at home; but, that his relish for it had carried him so far as to make no scruple of eating what was unlawful and unclean, to preclude all occasion of which in future, the father gave orders, that such meats should be daily dressed and brought to the table; where he might indulge his appetite to the utmost extent, without defiling his person by that which was impure. So Jehovah, to prevent the children of Israel from polluting themselves by offering all sorts of sacrifices upon the high places, already appropriated to demons, commanded, that such and such oblations should be daily brought to the tabernacle of the congregation, the place of his presence; where they might eat the flesh of their sacrifices without danger to their souls. To have permitted them to offer where, and what, they pleased, would have been a ready occasion to their declining from the worship of Jehovah to the abominable practices of the surrounding idolaters. To secure them, therefore, from the influence as well as from the service of evil spirits, the rites and place of sacrifice were specially ordained by God; and this, be it observed, is the purport of the parable; not that they were indulged in a species of superstition, from which the Deity plainly foresaw, that they Vor. II.

could not be altogether prohibited without violence to their feelings. Indeed, when we come to consider the immense apparatus of the levitical dispensation, that not only a tabernacle, and afterwards a temple were constructed by divine command, but, that a whole tribe of men were separated to the functions of the ministry; and, that there were more regularly ordained priests and sacrifices amongst the Jewish nation than were ever known to obtain in any kingdom of the earth in proportion to their numbers; it is to me matter of astonishment, how either of our authors could for a moment have entertained the idea, that sacrifices and oblations for sin were not originally a divine institution; but a species of superstition, invented by the fears and weakness of mankind.

The arguments for the hypothesis of Maimonides being thus set aside, it may not be improper to corroborate a little more strongly the opposite doctrine; that of the institution of sacrifices in general the sole end or design was to atone for sin and iniquity, and, that this mode of worship, so far from having originated with the idolaters, was the legitimate service of every pious man from the time that they had to deplore the depravity of their inclinations, and the tremendous effects of primæval transgression. First of all, I deem it a consideration of no small weight, that by the progenitors of the human race, and long before the worship of

idolaters had any footing in the world, there were sacrifices and oblations made to the name of Jehovah; and, if we may judge from the preference given to the firstlings of the flock above the fruits of the earth, in the case of the two brothers, the performance of sacrifice was the only mode of worship, which was truly acceptable and efficacious; and which was honoured with the approbation and sanction of the Almighty. From Adam to Noah we no where read of their being interdicted, or of their unfitness to be a part of the worship of the true God; so far from that, the righteous Noah, on his egression from the ark, and at a time even when all idolatrous practices were buried in the deluge, did homage to Jehovah with oblation and holocaust, the odour of which, as it stands upon record, ascended to the Lord for a sweet smelling savour. The same species of adoration was solemnly practised by all the succeeding patriarchs, by Abraham, by Isaac, and by Jacob; each of whom in their several intercourses with the Supreme Being is known to have worshiped him with the immolation of victims. Now, in the ages coæval with the world, men must have begun to perform their sacrifices either by divine command, or by the counsel of their own minds. It by divine command, then the doctrine of Maimonides instantly falls to the ground; but, if of their own accord, yet the origin of the worship cannot be charged upon the idolaters; because at that time there were no such worshipers in existence, the offerings of the fratricide, Cain, as well as of the righteous Abel, being equally paid to the honour of Jehovah.

From the time that the Israelites marched out of Egypt to the building of the temple by Solomon, we have many proofs upon record of the great efficacy of sacrifice in pacifying the anger of the Deity, and of making immediate atonement for sin and transgression. In the affair of Korah, the plague suddenly seized the congregation, and they were dying by thousands; but Aaron quickly put the fire into the censer, and made an atonement for the people; and the plague was stayed. In the case of David, who had provoked the Lord to anger by numbering the tribes of Israel, the destroying angel directed an altar to be erected in the thrashing floor of Arnon, the Jebusite, where the king made oblation and sacrifice; and the pestilence ceased. The patriarch, Job, on the conclusion of the feasts which his sons had been celebrating amongst themselves, was induced to offer for them severally so many sacrifices; lest in their merriment they should have cursed God in their hearts, and so have contracted that guilt which required an atonement. At the close of the dialogue between him and his friends on the ways of divine providence, the Lord was displeased with all, except Job, himself; and commanded them to atone for their erring

speeches by an offering of seven bullocks, and seven rams; and, that his servant, Job, should pray for them, lest they should be punished for their folly. In all these instances the symptoms of repentance and contrition were of no avail towards the canceling of their guilt; but only the offering of sacrifice, which so far from being the result of idolatrous habits, was prompted and commanded even by Jehovah himself.

The impressions under which those righteous servants of old, as well before as after the Mosaic economy, shed the blood of their victims, were doubtless what I have elsewhere described at some length; that, knowing death to be the penalty of sin, and, that their own lives were forfeited by actual transgression, they availed themselves of that dispensation of grace under which they lived, to make a vicarious atonement, to substitute the life of the beast instead of their own life; and so by satisfying the divine attributes of justice and mercy, thus happily blended together, they sought to procure for their souls both pardon and peace. Thus Nachmanides:* וחלילה שלא יהא בהם שום תועלת ורצון רק שוללות לע"ז מדעת השוטים ויותר ראוי לשמוע הטעם שאומרי' בהם כי בעבור שמעש' בני אדם נגמרים במחשב' ובדבור ובמעשה צוה השם כי כאש' יחטא ויביא קרבן יסמוך ידיו עליו כנגד המעשה ויתודה בפיו כנג' הדבור וישרוף באש הקרב והכליות שהם כלי המחשבה והתאוה והכרעים

^{*} Com, Lev. i. 13.

כנגד ידיו ורגליו של אדם העושים כל מלאכתו ויזרוק הדם על המזבח כנגד דמו בנפשו כדי שיחשוב אדם בעשותו כל אלה כי חטא לאלהיו בגופו ובנפשו וראוי לו שישפך דמו וישרף גופו לולא חסד הבורא שלקח ממנו תמורה וכפר הקרבן הזה שיהא דמו תחת דמו נפש תחת נפש וראשי אברי הקרבן כנגד ראשי אבריו והמנות להחיות בהן מורי התורה שיתפללו עליו וקרבן התמיד "God forbid, :בעבור שלא ינצלו הרבים מחטוא תמיד that in oblations and sacrifices there should have been neither utility nor acceptance; but only the privation of superstitious idolatry. Rather let us receive their account of them who say, that, because the actions of the children of men are consummated by thought, word, and deed; the Lord commanded, as often as any one sinned, that he should bring his oblation, lay his hands upon it, as answering to the deed; confess with his mouth, as answering to the word; should burn in the fire the intestines and the kidneys, the organs of cogitation and concupiscence, together with the legs, as answering to the hands and legs of the man, which perform his work; and that he should sprinkle upon the altar the blood, a answering to his own blood in himself: so that the man, upon his doing all these things, might be led to consider, that he had sinned against his God, both as to his body and his soul; and must have been in duty bound to shed his own blood, and to burn his own body, were it not for the indulgence of the Creator, who accepted of him the commutation and

atonement of this offering; that its blood should be instead of his own blood, a life for a life, the chief members of the oblation as answering to his own chief members; as likewise the portions wherewith to sustain the teachers of the law, that they might pray for him; and also the daily oblation, because that the multitude in general are not free and exempt from daily sin.* So R. Bechai: על דרך הפשט טעם הקרבנות הכל לתועלת האדם כי חפץ השם יתעלה באד' שהוא מבחר המין ושבשבילו נברא העולם שיהיה כלו שכלי כמלאד יי צבאות בלא חטא והיה כי יחטא ואשם מצד היצר הרע . הנטוע בו ראוי לו שיתנחם ויכיר ויתבונן בפחיתות עצמו ובערך רוממות האדון יתעלה אשר המרה את פיו ויתחיי׳ שישים אל לבו כי חטא לפניו בגופו ובנפשו ומפני שכל פעלות האדם נכללות בג' דברים והם המעשה והדבור והמחשבה שהם שלשה חלקי החטא על כן תחייב התור' את האדם להביא קרבן על חטאו ושיסמוך את ידיו עליו כנגד המעשה ושיתודה בפיו כנגד הדבור ושירוף כלי העצה והמחשב' שהסכימו בחט' והם הקרב והכליו' כנגד המחשבה כדי שיתכפר בשלשה דברים אלו על שלשת חלקי החטא וראוי לו שיזרק דמו של קרבן על גבי המזבח כנגד דמו וכאשר יעשה כל הענינים האלה יחשוב בלבו כי הוא מתחייב מיתה בחטאו וראוי להענש בארבע מיתות בית דין שהם סקילה שרפה הרג וחנק: "Literally speaking, the design of all the oblations is for the benefit of man. For Jehovah, exalted be he, had a pleasure in man, that he, being the elect

^{*} Par Vajikra, fol. 141, col. 4.

species, and on whose account the world had been created, should, like an angel of Jehovah of hosts, be wholly intellectual without any sin; but, that, in case he should by reason of the evil principle implanted within him, incur sin and guilt, he should be in duty bound to repent, and to confess, and to contemplate his own vileness, and the incomparable excellency of Jehovah, whose mandates he had disobeyed; and that he should lay it to heart, that he had sinned in his presence, as well with his body as with his soul. Moreover, because all the actions of the man are comprized in three things, deed, word, and thought, the three heads under which sins may be classed; therefore the law obliges the man to bring an oblation for his sin; and, that he shall place his hands upon it, as answering to the deed: that he shall confess with his mouth, as answering to the word; and, that he shall burn the organs of counsel and cogitation, which have conspired in the sin, that is to say, the intestines and the reins, as answering to the thought; so that by these three things he may have an atonement for the three species of sin. It behoves him, likewise, to sprinkle the blood of the offering upon the top of the altar, as answering to his own blood; and to consider in his heart, when he doeth all these things, that he himself by reason of his sin is guilty of death, and deserving of the four capital punishments, stoning, burning, killing, and strangling."

So also R. Moses Alshech:* האדם היה הן האדם היה כא' ממלאכי השרת אם לא יחטא ואשם כי יהיה קרוב אל ה' כי נשמתו דבקה בו ית' גם עודנו בחיים היותו ואין דבר מפסיק בינו לבין אביו שבשמים כנודע אך בהעוותו יבדיל כדבר שנאמר כי אם עונותיכם הוו מבדילים ביניכם לבין אלהיכם נמצא החוטא מתרחק מאתו ית' ולא זה בלבד כי אם גם מן העון יברא ויעשה מלאך רע המקטרג עליו תמיד עד המס ימס ע"י תשובה הראויה כנודע וגם רוחו ונשמתו ינקו מן טומאת העון חלאת טומאה המתייחסת אל טומאת המשחית אשר ברא בהעוותו וע"כ בגלל הדבר הזה אשר נתרחק האדם ממנו יתברך בטחאו יצטרך עשות באופן ישוב יתקרב אליו יתברך והוא ע"י הקרבן כי ע"כ יקרא כה על שם שמתקרב בעליו אל ה' ולהיות שהמשחית אשר ברא בהעוותו מעכב צריך עשות אופן מחה ימחה את זכר המשחית ההוא ע"י תשובה ווידוי בסמיכה ובשחיטה ואו יתוקן אשר עוות ויתקרב אליו יתברך והדבר הזה הוא הנתקן ע"י הקרבן בהיות החטא בלתי גדול מנשוא והוא כי כאשר יסמוך החוטא את ידיו על ראש קרבנו וישוב אל ה' מלבו ויתודה עונו או בסמיכתו את ידיו בתשובה ווידוי על ראש קרבנו יסיר ויפשוט מאתו חלאת טומאת חטאתו אשר חטא והכח הטמא אשר ברא יסיר ממנו ויתלבש בב"ח ההוא וע"כ נצטווינו מיד תכף לסמיכה שחיטה בל יהיה הפסק מההשראה בב"ח אל התשת כחו פן ישוב לאיתנו ע"י צד הרהור זר כי אם להחל מיד להכניע הכח הטמא ההוא ואותו הכח הוא המתמרק "But look ye, if : ונאכל מאכילת אש על גבי המובח man were as one of the ministering angels; if he

^{*} Torath Moshe, Par. Vajikra, fol. 173, col. 2.

were not to contract sin and guilt, but to keep near to Jehovah, and to cleave to him with his soul; he would always be quickened and alive; nor would there be any thing, as is well known, to cause a separation between him and his heavenly Father. But, by committing iniquity, he makes a separation, according to the words of the prophet, But your iniquities are the things; which cause a separation between you and your God. The sinner is found to withdraw himself from the Lord; and not only that; but from iniquity there is created and formed an evil angel, which is continually accusing him, until by dissolution it dissolves away through meet repentance, as is generally known; that is, until his soul and spirit are free from the defilement of iniquity, and that impure disease, which is engendered by the defilement of the destroyer created through iniquity, be weakened, and reduced under subjection. Therefore, for this reason, that man by his sin is far estranged from Jehovah, he is obliged to put himself in a way, that he may again draw near unto the Lord; and this is to be effected by means of the oblation, which in the Hebrew has its name from the consideration, that he who has it to offer, makes an approach unto the Lord. But, since the destroyer, created by his iniquitous practices, is an impediment to him; it is necessary, that by means of repentance and confession, together with the imposition of hands, and the slaughtering

of the victim, he set about utterly effacing the memory of that destroyer; and, then, what he has done iniquitously will be corrected, and he will draw near unto Jehovah. Now all this, when the sin is not aggravated beyond measure, and too great to be pardoned, is accomplished by means of the oblation; that is, when the sinner shall lay his hands upon the head of his offering, and from his heart shall return unto the Lord, and confess his iniquity; in other words, upon placing his hands with repentance and confession on the head of his oblation, then will he remove and put away from himself the impure disease of his sin which he has committed, will divest himself of that impure principle which he had created, and be clothed with the principle of life. For this cause, we are directed immediately after the imposition of the hands to slay the victim, that there may be no interval between commencing with the vital principle and the crushing of its power; for fear it should again infest us by means of any improper thought, should we not instantly begin to bow down and crush the impure principle. this manner, the very principle itself will be frittered away and reduced to nothing by the consuming of the fire upon the back of the altar." So likewise R. Abraham Seba:* יוה סוד הקרבות ליודעי' לפי שהאדם חטא וזה הבלען שואל דין על החוטא ולפי הדין היה ראוי החוטא להמסר בידו והשם חושב מחשבות

^{*} Tseror Hammor, fol. 11, col. 4. Venet. ed. 1567.

לבלתי ידח ממנו נדח ורצה לתת עצה לבניו באופן שינצלו ממדת הרין המכלה הבשר וצוח שיקריבו לפניו קרבנו' בענין שיהיו כופר גופם ונפשם וזה המקטרג רוצה להשביעו מבשר המת ושיאכל לשבעה מבשר הקרבנות בענין שלא ישאל בשר אדם כענין שיהיה זה תחת זה כאומרו מאשר יקרת בעיני נכבדת ואני אהבתיך ואתן אדם תחתך כי כשאין קרבנות לתת לו בשר נותן לו "This the intelligent know : אדם אחד רשע תחתיו to be the mystic doctrine of the oblations, how that the man sinned, and this devourer demanded judgment to be executed upon the sinner; and as it was but just and fit, that the sinner should be delivered up into his hands, the Lord devised a method to preclude his being banished from him, and was pleased to give his posterity wise counsel, in order that they should be rescued from the Property of Judgment, the consumer of flesh; and so commanded them to bring before him oblations, for the purpose that they might be an atonement for their body as well as their soul; and, that this accuser might be pleased to satiate himself with the flesh of the dead, and eat to the full of the flesh of the oblations, without demanding the flesh of man; as though the one were meant to be substituted for the other, according to what the Scripture saith, Because thou art precious in my eyes, thou art honoured, and I have loved thee, and have given a man for thee: for, when that there are no oblations to afford him flesh, he gives him a wicked man instead of it." These several comments equally accord with scripture and tradition; and will admit of no other inference, than that by sacrifice alone we have the remission of our sins, are reconciled to God, and made heirs of the promise of eternal life. They clearly set forth, that, however necessary both repentance and confession may be as concomitants, it is the oblation only which is the efficient cause of our exculpation from guilt.

This doctrine was admirably verified in the celebration of the great day of atonements, whereby the sins of the whole nation for the year past were borne away on the back of the goat; and that, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, without any regard, whatever, to the repentance of individuals. It is on this ground, and no other, that Israel, according to the fathers in Medrash Chazith, made expiation and atonement for all the nations of the earth:* מה יונה זו מכפרת על העולים כך ישראל מכפרין על האומות שכל אותן שבעים פרים שמקריבים בחג כנגד שבעים אומות שלא יצדה העולם מהן הה"ד תחת אהבהי "Like as the dove makes : ישטנוני ואני תפלה atonement for all birds, so Israel makes atonement for all nations; as the whole seventy bullocks, offered at the feast, answer to the seventy nations, that the world should not be desolated by being deprived of them. This is what the Scripture saith, For my love to them they shew odium to me; but

^{*} Medrash Chazith, fol. 15, col. 2.

I adhere unto prayer." Here we have the efficacy of sacrifice maintained in a case which excludes the consideration both of repentance and confession. For, if the Gentiles derived any benefit from the Jewish atonements, it must have been solely by the shedding of the blood, without any condition on the part of the culprits.

I am aware, indeed, that, since the destruction of the temple, and the cessation of the levitical œconomy, the Jews have been industrious to magnify the efficacy of repentance, as though it were sufficient of itself, without the medium of sacrifice and oblation, to obliterate the guilt of sin. But, in my Letter above mentioned. I have shewn this doctrine to be inconsistent with the known principles of Judaism, and wholly at variance both with the scriptures, and with the talmud. The scriptures. indeed, suppose, and the church requires, repentance; because a scheme of atonement by voluntary oblations and sacrifices is compatible only with the circumstances of a people, who shall accredit its divine institution, shall be conscious of their sins, and feel a wish to be absolved from them; as without these impressions it is morally impossible, that any man should be either at the trouble or at the expense of a sacrifice, when destitute of an object. But, if repentance and confession could have constituted an efficient remedy for sin and uncleanness; they would unquestionably have been pro-

pounded as such to the acceptance of the Jewish people, and have been promulgated to the world with the thunder of mount Sinai. Now of this we find no vestiges either before or under the Mosaic dispensation; and, therefore, it is unpardonable in the Jews of the present day, when all intercourse between them and Jehovah has ceased, to recommend, as an adequate medium for obtaining absolution, what was neither practised nor maintained as such in the vigour of their polity. To act thus is to hold out to their unhappy countrymen the vain and delusive hope of procuring salvation upon easier terms than even the patriarchs of old and their pious posterity were permitted to purchase it; for all these, as I have abundantly manifested, complied with the prescribed method of expiating their sins by oblations and sacrifices.

The only point remaining for the consummation of this argument, is, whether, since by the shedding of blood we have the remission of our sins, there was ever any sacrifice propounded for the expiation of original sin, that is, for the removal of the effects of that first disobedience, which was the cause of man being expelled from paradise, brought death into the world and all our woes; and under the penalties of which we continue to this day, anxiously looking forward to the redemption of our bodies. To understand this subject rightly, we must first define the sense of original sin; and then

we shall see clearly, how to answer the question. Now, strictly speaking, all sin is actual. The sin for which our first parents were driven from paradise, and incurred the sentence of mortality and disease, was their own individual and actual sin. The sins with which we severally stand chargeable, for which we are required to offer an atonement, and for which we are liable to be punished, are no other than actual sins; and, though we sustain that bodily dissolution which was annexed as the penalty of primæval transgression, yet this is not the immediate effect of any sin whatever, but of that mortal texture which we inherit from our parents; and for which we are no more accountable than we are for the ferocity of the savage or for the barrenness of the mountain soil. There is, therefore, no such thing in the world as original sin distinct from actual; because all sin whatever, must have been committed by some one; and, consequently, must be actual, if not with respect to others, at least with respect to the person that stands charged with the commission of it. But, though this be true, that all sin, whatever, is actual; yet that does not do away with the truth of the doctrine of original sin, as generally taught; because, when we discourse of original sin, as a state or condition of being in which all men come into the world, we put the cause for the effect, and mean thereby, the penalty of that actual sin which was first committed

by man, the mortality and depravity of the human frame. Now, certainly, for the expiation of that first act of disobedience in man, whereby we forfeited so much of our original dignity and excellence, both tradition and experience inform us, that there never was any sacrifice propounded either before or after the institution of the Mosaic occonomy. That Adam himself could have had no efficient atonement to offer, is demonstrable from the consideration, that by being banished from the garden of Eden, and doomed to mortality and labour, he sustained the whole penalty annexed to his transgression; and, that any of his posterity either offered or pretended to offer an expiation for that sin, is a thing unheard of in the annals of the Jewish church. In Tseror Hammor, indeed, I remember having read something of this nature; where, in expounding the sacrifices offered at the consecration of Aaron and his sons, the author repeatedly asserts, that they were offered to make atonement for the sin of the first man; but this is to be understood figuratively, not literally, in that with him the sons of Aaron are supposed to represent Adam, and, therefore, the rites of their consecration, as well as the circumstances attending their death, are made to agree with the history of the first man. fathers, we know for certain, sacrificed for the expiation only of their own individual crimes; and to draw down upon themselves and their families a

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particular blessing. The design of the tabernacle, of the sanctuary, and of the altar, was to expiate the iniquities of the Jewish people, and, that I may express myself in the style of the cabbalistic school, to bring down into this lower world the Habitation of Jehovah. But in both these dispensations, transient and limited as they were, the benefit of the atonements made had reference to the soul alone, was confined to the parties themselves, and extended no farther than to the expurgation of their individual and personal guilt.

Here, then, we behold a sufficient motive for the incarnation of the Word of God. By sacrifice alone we procure the remission of our sins; that being the only method prescribed and sanctioned by divine authority for the obtaining of this blessing. If we sin, and make no atonement for it, we shall remain unholy, and cannot go to heaven: for it is the doctrine of the Jewish as well as of the christian church, that without holiness no man shall see the Lord. But it is undeniable, that all men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; so much so, indeed, that with many of the Jewish theologists every man upon earth is said to have suffered death and dissolution by reason of his actual sin. Have mankind, then, been able to avail themselves of any legal sacrificial atonement for their sins and transgressions? Far from it. Whatever benefit might redound to the other nations of

the world, as well as to the Jewish people, from the institution of the levitical œconomy; since the destruction of the temple by the Romaus, that service has been wholly abrogated, all legal sacrifices and oblations have been discontinued, nor has there been in the world for the last seventeen hundred years any such thing as an authorised oblation for the sins of the human race. Behold, then, I say again, the beauty and propriety of the christian scheme of human redemption by the death of the Son of God, by the sacrifice of that lamb, which uniting in his own person both the divine and the human nature, vouchsafed to lay down his life as an adequate atonement for all sin, whatever; for actual as well as for primæval transgression; whereby the defects of the levitical dispensation are fully supplied, and all mankind are enabled to partake of salvation. To devise and execute a plan of universal redemption at once consistent with the divine attributes of justice and mercy, to obliterate a crime inexpiable to the human race, and to restore them to that blissful state of immortality and glory from which they had dilapsed, was a most nobte and stupendous design, highly worthy of the incarnation and manifestation of that subsistency of the Godhead; who, though he created man at the first, and invested him with the power to do good or evil, was too wise and gracious to permit him, by any abuse of his liberty, to frustrate the purpose of his

creation, but provided by his fall fresh matter for the display of his own mercy and goodness; and, in so ineffable a scheme of perfect redemption, hath justly procured to himself that most glorious and transcendent species of adoration and service, the gratitude of his creatures. In this, I repeat it, we behold a motive for the manifestation of God in the flesh, commensurate with the greatness of the act; a motive in every respect worthy of the divine compassion, and which, if duly considered, must of itself afford a strong and presumptive argument, that the event either is already, or will be accomplished. There might, as we readily grant, be other subordinate ends conspiring with the one here enforced, such as the expediency of giving a sensible demonstration of the resurrection of the dead, the propriety of setting an example of holy life, and the necessity of proving a special providence by the miraculous display of the presence of the Habitation; but, according to the creed of the christian church, the great end and design of the word of Jehovah appearing in the flesh was, by his death and sufferings to repair the evils sustained by the fall, and to offer an atonement for the sins of mankind.

CHAPTER V.

From the presumptive arguments already advanced, the reasonableness and expediency of the incarnation are rendered apparent; and, if with these we connect another link now ready for the anvil, we cannot fail of being strongly prejudiced in favour of the doctrine, even before we proceed to the consideration of any of those proofs, which are more immediately offered in its corroboration and support. In the first volume of this work, I have demonstrated at some length, that in the Jewish church the Metatron is the same divine subsistency with the Law, the Word, and the Wisdom, of Jehovah; and, that this subsistency is no other than the second personality of the Godhead, affirmed by ourselves to have been incarnated of the Virgin Mary. To the Rabbinical scholar it cannot be unknown, that in the writings of the Jewish fathers there is frequent mention of a celestial tabernacle or sanctuary, corresponding to that of Jerusalem, for the purpose of offering victims and of making atonements for the righteous; and, that, according to the cabbala, the person officiating in this celestial temple, in the quality of high priest, is the prince of the presence, the Metatron; or, as some say, Michael, the second personality of the trisubsisting Godhead. This tradition I am led to

consider as highly corroborative of the doctrine in debate; because, if the dispensation of things in heaven be such that atonements for the souls of the pious must of necessity be offered before God, and that by the hand only of the Metatron, the prince . of the divine presence, the language of the christian apostle, that in heaven we have a tabernacle not made with hands, whither Christ, the son of God is actually entered in the character of the celestial high priest to make intercession for us, is but a more comprehensive and perfect transcript of the Jewish cabbala; whatever we may have been dreaming, or imagining to the contrary. In maintaining the belief of a tabernacle or temple in heaven, of which that constructed by Moses and Solomon was the terrestrial model; and in inculcating, that the head of the celestial hierarchy is the Word or the Wisdom of Jehovah, and who by Philo is styled the chief priest of the universe; the Jewish and Christian fathers do strictly accord: nor do they differ in any thing, except that the former deny the assumption of our nature by the Word, for the purpose of being visibly offered upon the earth; whereas the latter affirm it, and are prepared to evince the truth and propriety of it, as well from the miracles which accompanied the event, as from a more correct and liberal explication of the divine law in its development of the relations between man and his Maker. Before I proceed, however,

to adduce the necessary testimonies on which to ground this argument, I shall premise with a few extraordinary proofs of the divine personality of the legate, Metatron. For, though in the course of the first volume, as well from the writings of the cabbalists as from those of the most eminent literal expositors, the divinity and personality of his nature were abundantly manifested; yet, as I have made a considerable accession to my original stock of Rabbinical authorities since the publication of that part of the work, I cannot refrain from laying them before the reader; and the more so, because in the Jewish controversy the nature and quality of this legate form a question of the very first importance. and to the discussion of which it is not possible to come with too great a portion of evidence.

That the Metatron is no angel in the common acceptation of the term, is demonstrable from the single circumstance, that he always beholds the face of Jehovah, and is denominated the prince of the presence; whereas of other angels the language of the Jewish church is, that they do not behold the face of Jehovah, nor know where the place of his glory is. Thus we read in Romemuth El:* כי מ"ה כי מ"ה אותם רוחניים אין רואים את הק"בה ואומרים איה "For, though the ministering angels מקום כבודו: be spiritual, they do not behold the Holy One, blessed be he; but say, Where is the place of his glory?"

^{*} Ps. VIII, 3. fol. 4, col. 3; Jasenits ed. 1721.

The Metatron, however, is with him from eternity; and, as the subsequent testimonies will shew, is that unspotted mirror and express image of his person, which it is not lawful for created beings to behold in this life; and which even Moses desiring to see, was refused the request. These, and such like things, are every where inculcated of him in the writings of the cabbalists. In Zohar Chadash:* ועוד אמ' רבן יוחנן בן זכאי כמה נצטער ההוא גברא דכתיב ביה לא כן עבדי משה בכל ביתי נאמן הוא למחזי חד שמשא דמשמשא קמיה זלא איתייהבת ליה רשותא דכתיב הראני נא את כבודך: אמ' רבן יוחנן בן זכאי הוא דכתיב ביה כבוד אל והוא מטטרון שר הפנים והיאך שאיל משה למחמי דא אלא משה סבר כיון . דחמא גופיה ארבעין יומין וארבעין לילין דלא אכיל ושתי והוה ניזון מאספקלריא דלעילא סבר דכדי הוא למישאל דא ומה אתיב ליה לא תוכל לראות את פני הוא מאריה דאפייא ולא יהיב ליה רשותא עד דנפיק נשמתיה לקיים "Moreover, וחי: האדם וחי: לא יראני האדם וחי Rabban Jeuchanan ben Zachai said, How much pain must it have given that man of whom it is written, Not so my servant, Moses, who is faithful in all my house, to desire to see one minister that ministered before him; but had not the permission granted him; as it is said, Let me, I pray, see thy glory. This glory, said Rabhan Jeuchanan ben Zachai, is called the glory of God, the same with the Metatron, the prince of the presence. But how

^{*} Fol. 11, col. 1. Amst. ed. 1701.

was it, that Moses requested to see him? Doubtless he thought, that after his body had seen forty days and forty nights without either eating or drinking, and had been fed from the heavenly mirror; he was competent to prefer the petition. But what answer did he receive? Thou canst not see my face, that is, the lord of the face, or presence. He did not grant him the power till his soul should have departed this life, according to the declaration of scripture, For no man shall see me, and live." the same work:* אמר רבי יהודה ת"ח אין לך בכל לילה ולילה שאינו אוחז מטטרון שר הפנים כל נשמתן של ת"ח העוסקים בתורה לשמה ומראה אותן לפני: הק"בה וממתינים מלאכי השרת והוממים מלומר שירה. שיתכנפו נפשו' הצדיקים עמהם ויאמרו ביחד לאל עליון שנאמר הנצנים נראו בארץ אלו העוסקים בתורה לשמה עת הומיר הגיע אז הוא עת לומר לבוארם ביחד וקול התור נשמע בארצינו זה מטטרון הבא לאסוף נשמתן של צדיקים לזמר ליוצרם בכל לילה ולילה שנאמר יעלזו חסידים בכבוד ירננו על משכבותם מהו בכבוד "R. Jehuda said, וממר רבי יהודה זה משטרון: Come and see, there is no night in which the Metatron, the prince of the presence, does not take all the souls of the sages who study the law for its own sake; and introduce them into the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he: and the ministering angels wait, and stay from chanting the song, until the souls of the righteous are assembled with

^{*} Fol. 22, col. 1.

them; when they chant in concert to the most High God, according to the words of Scripture, The flowers have appeared in the land, that is, those who study the law for its own sake; the time of singing is at hand, then is it time to sing to their Creator in concert; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land, that is, the Metatron, who comes to collect the souls of the righteous to sing to their Maker every night, as it is said, Let the pious exult with glory, and sing upon their beds. Who is meant by the expression, with Glory? This said R. Jehuda, is the Metatron." So in another place:* שעתא נסיב לון מן פומיה מאריה דאפייא די שמיה כשמא דמריה והוא אסיק להון לעילא עם נשמתיהון דצדיקיי' קמי מדבחא יקרא דלעיל' ונסבין לון שתין מלאכין דסחרין כורסי יקרא כל חד וחד את חד ומומרין בהון כל ליליא הח"ד ולקח הכהן הטנא מידך והניחו לפני מובח ה' אלהיך ולקח הכהן דא הוא מטטרון הטנא אלין שתין אתוותא דק"ש דליליא: "Then the Lord of the presence, whose name is as the name of his master, takes them from his mouth, and conveys them above, together with the souls of the righteous, before the glorious altar in in heaven; and the sixty angels, which surround the Throne of Glory, take each of them one, and tune with them the whole of the night, as it is said, And the priest shall take the basket from thy hand, and set it down before the altar of the Lord,

^{*} Fol. 23, col. 2.

thy God: and the priest shall take, this is the Metatron; the basket, these are the sixty letters of the reading of the Shema by night." So a little במחוה זהו שנאמר ומראה כבוד ה' כאש *: below אוכלת בראש ההר וזהו מטטרון המוליכו לפני בוראו: "In a vision, that is, according to the scripture, And the sight of the Glory of Jehovah was as flaming fire upon the top of the mountain; and this was the Metatron, who brought him before his Creator." So again : זעל דמות הכסא דמות כמראה אדם עליו מלמעלה הכא הוא עמודא דאימצעותא סמיך לשכינתא וחזא ליה מגו מטטרון דאיהו שדי: " And above the likeness of the Throne there was the likeness, according to appearance, of a man upon it, at the top. Here he saw the middle pillar united to the Habitation; and he saw it from within the Metatron, who is the Almighty." And again: בי שמיה ש"די דאיהו נטי' תרע' "The Metatron, whose : 'דאיתמר בה זה השער לה' name is the Almighty; who is the keeper of that gate of which it is said, This is the gate of Jeho-ימא." In Reshith Hochma: § וכאשר ירד אדם בהטאו אל הקליפה הוכרח אל המלאכות האלו והקדוש ברוך הוא לטהרנו ולקדשנו כדי שנהיה דבקים בו העלנו מששה ימים החצוגים והשלים על ישראל הנהגת קדוש' עי" מטטרון שהוא שר העולם וכמו שנ' ליהושע אני שר עבא ה' עתה, באתי שאף על פי שמר"עה דחהו הוא

"הוכרח לקבלו וכ"ש עתה בגלות שההנהגה ע"י כדפי "But, when, that man : בתיקונים ובמקומות אחרים: by his sin descended to the very husk, he was obliged to have recourse to these works; and the Holy One, blessed be he, in order to purify and sanctify us, so that we might adhere closely to him, raised us from the six working days of the week, and constituted in Israel an holy government through the instrumentality of the Metatron, who is the prince of the world; and, as it is said in Joshua, I am the prince of the host of Jehovah, now am I come: for although Moses rejected him, yet was he obliged to receive him; and how much more now, when we are in exile, is it to be maintained, that the government is in his hands, as explained in the Tykunim, and in other places." In Tseror ילך מלאכי לפניך המיוחד לי והוא מטטרון *: Hammor ששטו כשם רבו שנאמר כי שמי בקרבו ולכן יש לו יכולת לשמרך בכל דרכיך בארץ ובחוצה לארץ מה שאין יכולים "My angel shall proceed : מלאכי' אחרים לעשות: before thee, he who is peculiar to me, the same is the Metatron, whose name is as the name of his master, according to the scripture, For my name is in him: and, therefore, he has power to guard thee in all thy ways, both within the holy land, and without the holy land; which the other angels are not able to do." In Marganitha Saphira : + לא נעלם מעיני מה שכתב הר"בן ז"ל דברי חכמים ישמעון בנחת ומפרש מילת

^{*} Fol. 32, col. 3. + Fol. 64, col. 2, Amst. ed. 1767.

אלהי ארץ הוא כינוי למלאך הממונה על אומה אחת מיכאל המלמד זכות על ישראל יכונה בשם אלהי יעקב הוא הפטרון הגדול ועומד על ימינו עד כי יוציא לאור משפט ישראל תולעת יעקב ובזה אתי שפיר דברי המשורד: "Nor does that escape me which Ramban of blessed memory has left upon record; and to the words of the wise we are to listen with attention. His exposition is, that the phrase, the God of the earth, is an appellation of that angel who is set over the single nation; namely, Michael, who being the propounder of the righteousness of Israel, is called by name, the God of Jacob. He is the great patron who will stand upon his right-hand until he shall have brought to light the judgment of Israel, even of the worm, Jacob. Hereby the words of the Psalmist are beautifully illustrated." In Bechai:* ועל דרך הקבלה הנה אנכי שולח מלאך לפניך לשמרך המלאך הזה אינו מן הנפרדים החוטאי' שכתו' בהם ובמלאכיו ישים תהלה והתהלה היתה ממה שתלו הכח בעצמם בענין סדום כשאמרו כי משחיתים אנחנו אבל הוא מן הנפיעות וזהו שדרשו במדרש תנחומא כי לא ישא לפשעכם לפי שהוא מן הכת שאינן חוטאין והו' מטטרון שר הפנים ולכך אמר לשמרך בדרך כי תרגום משמרת מטרת והוא מדת הדין ולכך אמר לפניך כלשון לפניו ילך דבר ויצא רשף לרגליו ואומר כי ילך מלאכי לפניך וזהו לשון מלאכי כלומר מלאכי החביב אצלי שעל ידו אני נודע בעולם ועליו נאמד פני ילכו כשבקש משה ואמר הודיעני נא את דויכך בקש ממנו מדה שיהיה נודע

^{*} Fol. 113, col. 3, 4.

בה והשיב לו פני ילכו וזהו ומלאך פניו הושיעם מלאך שהוא פניו ועל כן אמר וצרתי את צורריך על ידו ואמר עוד והכחדתיו כי במדת הדין נכחדי' האויבים ומה שנקרא מלאך והוא אינו מן הנפרדים מפני שהנהג' העולם בו שהוא מדת הדין ומה שאמר השמר מפניו כי ממרת הדין יש לו לאדם לישמר שלא יענש בחטאו ולכך הזכיר בו לשון שמירה ולשון פנים ואמר ושמע בקולו אזהרה שלא יקצצו בנטיעות ולכך אמר מיד אל תמר בו ודרשו ז"ל אל תמר בו אל תמירני בו אלא שיתבוגן כי הכל אחד והכל מיוחד בלי פרוד כי לא ישא לפשעכם ואמר כי המלאך הזה יש לו כח לשאת הפשעים והסליחה מסורה בידו ואף על פי כן לא ישא לפשעיכם אם תמר בו כי כל הממר בו ממר בשמי המיוחד שבקרבו ומה שהזכי' דוד ע"ה כי עמך הפליחה ודרשו רז"ל לא מסרת אותה למלאך באור זה למלאך מן הנפרדים כי שמי בקרבו שמי המיוחד בקרבו כי ביה ה' וזהו שתרגם אנקלוס ארי בשמי ממריה והכונה בזה כל מה שהוא אומר אינו אומר אלא בשמי ובאר בזה כי קולו הוא קול אל עליון וזהו שאמר כי אם שמוע תשמע בקולו ועשית כל אשר אדבר לא אמר ידבר לבאר כי קולו הוא דבר השם ורצונו כי בו ידבר זה משפיע וזה מושפע השולח הוא המשפיע והמלאך הוא המושפע שנאצל ממנו כשם שביצירה התחתונה נאצלה אשה מאיש שנ' לואת יקרא אשה כי מאיש לוקח' זאת וכן מצינו בכל מקום שכתוב בתורה מנחה הוא והכתו' והאשה ההוא כתי' הוא וקרינן היא לבאר כי היא בכלל הוא וכן תמצ' בפסוק ראשון בראשו וסופו ה"א יו"ד וא"ו ושאחריו ה"א וענין זה רמזו הרב ז"ל בפסוק כל המנחה וכאשר חטאו ישראל בעגל נסתלק מביניה' המלאך הזה וזהו שאמר הש"י כי לא אעלה בקרבך כי כל זמן שהמלאך הזה אשר השם

המיוחד בקרבו מתהלך בקרב ישראל לא יאמר השם יתברך כי לא אעלה בקרבך כי כיון ששמו בקרבו הנה בקרב ישראל אבל הוא כיון שנסתלק מהם בחטא' רצח הקרוש כרוך הוא שיהיה אחד מן הנפרדים שלוח לפניהם הוא שכתו' ושלחתי לפניך מלאך וגרשתי את הכנעני וגו' כי לא אעלה בקרבך והמלאך הוה מן הנפרדים אשר יבטיח בו לגרש הוא גבריאל המלאך וסמך לזה מיד וישמ' העם את הדבר הרע הוה ויתאבלו כי היו מתאבלי' מהסלקו' המלאך הזה שר הפנים אשר השם המיוחד בקרבו ופחדו לנפש' מעתה פן יפלו ביד האויבים עם אחד מן הנפרדים ועם הדעת הואת של קבלה יאמנו דברי רבותינו ז"ל שדרשו שכל ימיו של משה לא היה מלא' עמה' כלומר מלא' שר צבא כי אין זה מן הנפרדי' ומה שכתוב ושלחתי לפניך מלאך והוא מן הנפרדים זה לא נתקיי' כי משה רבינו בטל הדבר בכח תפלתו והוא היה ממלא מקום המלאך מן הנפרדים אבל אחר שמת משה חזר מלאך שר צבא למקומו: "But according to the cabbala, the angel mentioned in the passage, Behold I send an angel before thee to protect thee, is not one of the separate abstract intelligences that sin, of whom it is written, And his angels he chargeth with folly; with folly, in that they boasted of their power in the affair of Sodom, saying, We will destroy: on the contrary, he is one of the plants. Hence in Medrash Tanchuma, on the words, For he will not forgive your transgression, the gloss is, Because he is of that class who do not commit sin. He is the Metatron, the prince of the face or presence: and, therefore, the scripture saith, To

guard thee in the way: for the targum of, mishmereth, custody, is, matterath. He is likewise the property of judgment; and, therefore, the scripture saith, Before thy face; just as the prophet saith, Before his face went a pestilence and a fiery disease issued at his feet. It is also said, For my angel shall go before thee; meaning by the expression, my angel, the angel who is beloved of me, by whose hand I am made known to the world, and of whom it is said, My face shall go; at the time that Moses petitioned, and said, Make known to me, I pray, thy way. He requested of him the property whereby he might be known; and he gave him for answer, My face shall go; to which the prophet alludes, saying, And the angel of his face saved them, to wit, the angel who is his face or presence. For this reason it is said, And I will oppose those, that oppose thee, by his hand: so again, And I will cut them off; because by the property of judgment enemies are cut off. Now, the reason why he is called an angel, and yet is not one of the abstract or separate intelligences, is, because the administration of the world is in his hands; he being the property of judgment. So the reason why the scripture saith, Beware of his face, is, because man has need to beware of the property of judgment; lest he should be punished, when he sins: and, therefore, guardianship and presence are equally affirmed of him. Moreover, it is said,

And obey his voice; an admonition this, that they should not make any amputation in the plants; and, accordingly, it is immediately subjoined, Provoke him not, or, Change not aught in him. The words, Change not aught in him, our Rabbies of blessed memory expound by, Change not me in him; but let it ever be kept in mind, that the whole is one and inseparably united. For he will not for give your transgression; that is, though this angel has power delivered into his hand to forgive your transgression, and to grant pardon; yet, notwithstanding that, if you provoke him, he will not forgive your transgression; for every one that provoketh him, provoketh my own individual name, which is in him. But as to the words of David, For with thee is forgiveness; and which our Rabbies of blessed memory have illustrated, saying, This thou hast not delivered to any angel; that is to be understood only of an angel who is but one of the separate abstract intelligences. For my name is in him; my own name is in him, for in Jah is Jehovah; and this is clearly intimated in the targum of Onkelos, Behold his word is in my name: meaning, that whatsoever he saith, he saith it not but in my name. The same is further demonstrable in that his voice is the voice of the Most High; this being plainly intimated in the words, For, if thou wilt hearken to his voice, and do that which I shall speak: it is not said, What he shall speak; but, What I shall speak; Vol. II.

an irrefragable proof, that his voice is the word of Jehovah and his pleasure; as by him he speaketh, the one being the person who diffuseth, and the other the person who is diffused; he who sends, being the person diffusing, and he who is sent, or the angel, the person diffused, who is emanated from him, just as in the inferior creation, the woman is emanated from the man, according to the scripture, This they shall call woman, because she is taken from man. In like manner, we find in the law, that, wherever there is written, It is an oblation; or, It is an offering by fire; the, It, written, is masculine; but the, It, read, is feminine; clearly manifesting, that the, It, feminine, is included in the It, masculine. So in the first pasuk, at its head and end, you will find the letters, He, Jod, Vau; and after it, He. It is alluded to by our Rabbies of blessed memory in the pasuk beginning with, Every oblation. But as soon as Israel sinned by the making of the calf, this angel betook himself from amongst them; and so the Lord said, For I will not go up in the midst of thee: whereas all the time that this angel in whom was the individual name of Jehovah, did walk in the midst of Israel, the Lord could not say, For I will not go up in the midst of thee; because, as his name was in him, he was doubtless in the midst of Israel. But, when that, on account of their sin, he betook himself from them; the Lord proposed, that one of the separate abstract intelligences should be sent before them, as it is written, And I will send before thee an angel, and I will drive out the Canaanite, and so forth; for I will not go up in the midst of thee. Now the angel from amongst the separate abstract intelligences, by whom he promised to expel the old inhabitants, was the angel, Gabriel; and so it is immediately added, that the people heard this ill news, and were much troubled at it; for they highly regretted the departure of the angel, the prince of the presence, in whom was the proper name of Jehovah; and were henceforth alarmed for themselves, lest they should fall by the hand of their enemies with but one of the abstract intelligences. This is the doctrine of the cabbala; and with this agree the words of our Rabbies of blessed memory, who affirm, that all the days of Moses they had no angel with them, to wit, the angel, the prince of the host, who is not one of the separate abstract intelligences. But as to the promise, And I will send before thee an angel, and that one of the abstract intelligences, this, I would observe, never took effect; as our Rabbi Moses, by virtue of his entreaty, set the thing aside, and did himself supply the place of the angel who was merely one of the separate abstract intelligences. However, as soon as Moses was dead, the angel, the prince of the host, returned to his station." So on another occasion:* ועל דרך הקבלה ואל משה אמ' השם *Fol. 114, col. 1.

המיוח' עלה אל ה' זהו מטטרון ששמו כשם רבו וכן דרשו רבותינו זכרונ' לברכה ונקר' בשם הזה לפי שבשם הזה נכללים שתי לשונות המורים על ענינו והוא אדון ושליח מלשון חכמי' שקורין אל הגבר' בעלת ממשלה מטרונה שליח מלשון יון שקורים לשליח מנטטור ועוד יכלול ענין שלישי מלשון שמירה כי תרגום משמרת מטרת ועל שהוא שומ' העולם נקרא שומר ישראל והנה מתוך הוראת שמו השגנו שהוא אדון לכל מה שתחתיו שכל צבא העליוני' והתחתוני' הלא הם ברשותו ותחת ידו והוא השלי' למי שעליו ולמעלה ממנו שהשלימהו על "But ac- קנינו: הכל ושמו אדון לביתו ומושל בכל קנינו: cording to the cabbalistic way of expounding the words, And Jehovah said unto Moses, Come up unto Jehovah; the name, Jehovah, is here meant of the Metatron, whose name is as the name of his master: and in this manner have our Rabbies of blessed memory interpreted the passage. He is called by the name of Metatron, because in this name are comprehended two terms expressive of his nature, lord, and, messenger; the former being borrowed from the language of our sages, who style a queen, matrona; the latter from the language of the Greeks, who call a messenger, mentator. There is, besides, a third signification implied in it, that of guarding, or, keeping; as the targum of, mishmereth, is, matterath: and, in consideration of his being the guardian, or keeper, of the world; he is called the guardian, or keeper, of Israel. From the very etymology, therefore, of his name,

we plainly perceive, that he is lord of every thing under him; that the whole host of celestial as well as terrestrial beings are under his direction and controul; but, that he himself is a legate to him that is over and above him, who hath invested him with the sovereignty of the universe, and made made him lord of his house, and ruler over every thing that he possesseth." So again :* וצריד ארוה לדעת כי מה שתמצא בפרש' זו כי המנסה הוא האלהים ומלאך השם יתבר' מונע הענין עם דרך הקבלה יתפקחו עיני הלב כי אין המלאך הזה מן הנפרדים רק מן הנטיעות אשר אין להפריד ולקצץ בהם שאלו היה מן הנפרדים לא היה אברהם שומע לקולו בבטול מה שצוהו האלהים גם המלאך לא היה רשאי לומר ולא חשכת ממני אלא ממנו אבל המלאך היה הוא מהנטיעות זהו המלאך הגדול והוא שעליו נאמר ויסע מלאך האלהים ואינו סמוך רק באור ומה שהזכירו בכאן מלאך כלומ' מלאך שבקרבו השם והוא שנאמר עליו כי שמי בקרבו ומזה הזכירו בפסוק המלאך הגואל וגו' בקר' הארץ והוא האדון אשר בו הרחמים ומפני שהוא האדון אמר לשון ממני ומפני שהוא הרחמים אמר אחרי הקרבן בי נשבעתי "But it is necessary to observe, that : נאם השם with respect to what you find in this section, that God himself tempted, but, that the angel of Jehovah countermanded the order; by following the cabbala, the eyes of your understanding will be enlightened to perceive, that this angel was not one of the separate abstract intelligences; but one

^{*} Fol. 35, col. 1.

of the plants in which it is not lawful to make any separation or amputation. Because, if he had been but one of the separate intelligences, Abraham would not so far have obeyed his voice as to nullify the commandment of God. Neither could the angel have been authorised to say, Thou hast not kept from me; but, from him. The truth is, this angel was one of the plants, that is, the great angel, and of whom it is said, And the angel, Elohim, marched; the terms not standing in construction, but in apposition. So here, in styling him an angel, it means the angel in whom is the name, Jehovah; and of whom it is written, For my name is in the midst of him: whence he is mentioned in the text, The angel, the redeemer, &c. as being in the midst of the land. He is the Lord in whom are the mercies; and, because he is the lord, he uses the expression, From me; but, because he is the mercies, he says after the oblation, By myself have I sworn, saith Jehovah." The author, we see, who of all others has developed the mystery of the Metatron in the plainest terms, is R. Bechai; whose testimonies are the more to be appreciated in that he professes to give us not merely his own opinion, but the doctrine of the cabbalistic school. The definitions of Michael or the Metatron are such as to leave no room for doubting of the divinity of his essence. He is declared to be no abstract spiritual intelligency, like other angels; but

one of the plants, that is, one of the numerations or subsistencies of the Godhead, the divine unity of which may not be severed or separated without incurring the most horrid impiety.

To those who are conversant in the scriptures, it must be superfluous to observe, that with the Jews it was a solemn injunction not to cut their young trees or plantations for the first three years after being put into the ground; but to consider them as sacred and appropriate to Jehovah. The cabbalists, employing this language figuratively, feign, that Adam was expelled from Paradise; because he had perpetrated the mortal sin of amputating the plants; the literal sense of which is, that he had severed the divine essence by imagining and inducing a multiplicity of deities. This, I say, is what the cabbalists intend to express by, amputating the plants; and, therefore, when R. Bechai tells us, that the Metatron is one of the plants, which it is not lawful to amputate or sever, he means to say, that he is a divine subsistency, which may not be separated from the unity of the Godhead: for, though all the abstract intelligences are spiritual subsistences, severally emanated from the Throne of Glory, and so far partaking of a divine original; yet do they form no part, whatever, of the divine unity; but, like so many sparks or coruscations, are dissevered and separated from the body of that light to which they refer their extraction or substance. The subsequent remarks of R. Bechai himself will unfold this important point:* זעל דרך הקבלה עץ החיים ועץ הדעת למעלה הם תפארת ועטרת והאד' חטא במעשה ובמחשבה בעין הדעת ובדוגמתו והנה אדם בחטאו לא כפר בשם המיוחד כי אף עפ" שהיה רואה עץ החיים כנגדו היה סבור שעץ הדעת עקר ונמשך אחריו להאמין כי הוא העקר בהיותו מוב ורע כולל כל ההפכי' כלן וכל הפעולו' בעליוניכם. ובשפלים נעשי' על ידו ומטעם זה הזכיר הכתוב פרי בעץ הדעת ולא תמצא כן בעץ החיים וחטאו היה שקצץ בנטיעות כלומר שקצץ כח השם המיוחד הנכנס בנטיעה והיה סבה שתיבש הנטיעה ותשחת וראויה הנטיעה שתנקם ממנו ולכך נענש במיתה שתפרד נפשו במותו מגופו כנגד מה שהפריד הכח העליון מן הנטיעה: " But according to the way of the cabbala, the tree of life, and the tree of knowledge, up above, are Beauty and Diadem; and the man sinned, both in act and in thought, both in the tree of knowledge, and in its effigy. The truth is, Adam, by his sin, did not deny the name, Jehovah; for, notwithstanding that he saw the tree of life answering to it, he was of opinion, that the tree of knowledge was the radix, and followed it; believing it to be the radix, in that it was good and evil, comprehending all contraries, whatever, and all operations both in things celestial and in things terrestrial, being performed by its hand. For this cause, the scripture makes mention of fruit with respect to the tree of

knowledge; which you will not find to be the case with respect to the tree of life. Now his sin was. that he had made an amputation in the plants, that is to say, he had cut or amputated the virtue of the name, Jehovah, which had come into the plant; and thus became the cause, why the plant withered. and was spoiled. The plant had a right to exact punishment of him; and, consequently, he was punished with death; that by his death his soul should be separated from his body, as a retaliation for his having separated the celestial virtue from the plant." So a little below :* ולמדך הכתוב שהשחית משני צדדין שאכל מן הפרי למטה וקצץ בדוגמתו למעלה ומפני שדונמתו מקבלת ממדת הדין של מעלה שהוא השמאל על כן כששב אדם מחטאו הוצרך להקריב שור ושישיב אל לבו כי הכל מיוחד ודבק למעלה ולכך זמן לו הק"בה שור בקרן אחת במצחו להורות לו על האחדות "The :מיוחד ופרוד המיוחד כדי לבאר מעילתו שחטא בקצוץ ופרוד scripture shews you, that he was a corrupter in two respects, in that he ate of the fruit below, and made an amputation in the effigy above; and, because its effigy did receive of the property of judgment above, that is, of the left hand, the man, when he had repented, was obliged to offer an ox, to induce him to reflect, that, above, the whole is united and coherent. For this cause, too, it was, that Jehovah prescribed to him an ox with one horn on his forehead, to signify and demonstrate to him the divine

* Fol. 14, col. 4.

unity; in order that the crime which he had committed in the amputation and separation of the proper name might be clearly manifested." So also on another occasion : * מובה מובה עשיתו בנה ואחר שנמר עשיתו לפניו והיה בזה קצוץ בנטיעו' אלא שהית' כונתו בקרבנות לשם המיוחד הוא שאמר חג ליו' מחר ולא אמד לאלהים או לעגל שאם היתה כונתו למד' הדין בלבד היה בזה "But after that he had completed the making : קצוץ of it, he built an altar before it; and herein there would have been an amputation in the plants, only it was intended with the oblations for the peculiar name, as it is said, To-morrow is a feast to Jehovah; not, to Elohim, nor, to the calf; for, if the design of it had been to offer to the property of judgment alone, there would in this case have been an amputation." So in Caphtor Upherach :+ לפי שכל הנשמות של ירשאל הם באות מהעשר ספירות כנודע וכמו שהספירות הם כלם אחדות אחד כן כל הנשמות הם אחדות אחד לפי שהם נצר אחד של מטעי כלומר של אותם עשר נטיעות אשר האציל הוא ית' ואם כן ראוי "Because that, as is :התפאר ידי להתפאר הוא well known, all the souls of Israel proceed from the ten numerations; and, as the numerations are all of them one unity, so are all the souls one unity; for they are one branch of my plantation, that is to say, of those ten plants which the deity, blessed be he, caused to be emanated: and, therefore, it is not unfitly said of them, that they are the work of my

^{*} Fol. 128, col. 2. + Fol. 111, col. 2.

hands whereby I may be glorified." So likewise in Tykune Zohar:* 'דכל מאן דנטיל מלכות בלא ט' ספירן איהו מקצין בנטיען וכל מאן דנטיל ט' ספירן בלא " Whoever takes the king- מלכות איהו כיפר בעקר : dom without the nine numerations, makes an incision in the plants; and whoever takes the nine numerations without the kingdom, denies the faith." From these and such like passages it is apparent, that by, the plants, the cabbalists mean the ten numerations, or, as I have expounded the matter in another place, the three personalities, and seven properties, of the Godhead; and, that, by the sin of cutting or amputating the plants, we are to understand the unpardonable crime of making a division in the divine essence, by imagining or affirming, that the virtue which is in this, is not in that; or, that the virtue which is in that, is not in this; thus denying them to be one and the same essence, as inculcated in the cabbala.

The divine personality of the Metatron being thus firmly established, I shall now bring under view some passages in which there is express mention of a tabernacle in heaven, and of the angel, Metatron, officiating therein, as the atoning high-priest; only for the right understanding of them, it may be as well to observe, that with many of the cabbalists the angel, Michael, is supposed to be the Metatron; and hence in receiving the tradition we find him de-

^{*} Fol. 115, col. 2.

signated sometimes by the one of these names, and sometimes by the other. In Massecheth Chagiga, we read as follows:* זבול שבו ירושלם ובית המקדש ומזבח בנוי ומיכאל שר הגדול עומד ומקריכ עליו קרבן בכל יום שנאמר בנה בניתי בית זבול לך מכון לשבתך עולמים ומה מקריב וכי תעלה על דעתך שיש לשם פרים וכשבים אלא מהו מקריב נשמתן של צדיקים ומנא לן דאיקרי שמים שנאמר הבט משמים וראה מזבול קדשך ותפארתך: "The heaven, called, Dwelling, in which are Jerusalem, the sanctuary, and the altar built; and Michael, the great prince, standing and offering thereon every day, according to the Scripture, I have built a temple for thee to dwell in, a fixed place for thee to reside in for ever. But what is it that he offers? Do you suppose, that there are there oxen and sheep to offer? But what is it that he offers? The souls of the righteous. But whence is it proved, that this dwelling is called heaven? From the scripture, Look down from heaven, and behold from the dwelling of thy holiness and beauty." In Menachoth: † אמר רב גידל אמ' רב זה מזבח בנוי ומיכאל השר הגדול עומד ומקריב עליו קרבן: "R. Gidel said, Rab said, This is the altar erected, and Michael, the great prince, stands and offers thereon the oblation." In Medrash Rabboth: ; ד"א להקים את המשכן א"ר סימון בשע' שאמר הקב"ה לישראל להקי' את המשכן רמו למלאכי השרת שיעשו אף

^{*} Een Yaacob, fol. 163, col. 1. + Ibid. Part II. fol. 172, col. 1. ‡ Fol. 206, col. 4.

הם משכן ובעת שהוקם למטן הוקם למעלן והוא משכן ממטטרון שבו מקריב נפשותיהם של צדיקים לכפר על ישראל בימי גלותם ולכך כתיב את המשכן שמשכן אחר הוקם עמו וכן הוא אומר מכון לשבתך פעלת יי' מקדש "There is another account which may : כננו ידיך be given of the words, To erect the tabernacle. R. Simon said, at the same instant that the Lord commanded Israel to erect the tabernacle, he intimated to the ministering angels, that they should also make a tabernacle; and so no sooner was the terrestrial tabernacle erected, than the celestial one was erected too, which is the tabernacle of the Metatron, wherein he offers up the souls of the righteous to make atonement for Israel in the days of their exile. For this reason it is written. The tabernacle; because there was another erected along with it. So the scripture saith, Thou hast made, O Lord, a building for thyself to dwell in: thy hands, O Lord, have constructed a sanctuary." In Bechai :* הוקם המשכן דרשו רז"ל מלמד שמשכן אחר הוקם עמו והוא משכן הנער ששמו מטטרון. "The expression, The tabernacle , :ששמו כשם רבו was erected, according to the exposition of our Rabbies of blessed memory, implies, that there was erected together with it another tabernacle, to wit, the tabernacle of the youth, Metatron, whose name is as the name of his master." In Reshith Hochma: + וכיון שהנשמה נשפעת מצד החסד גם מהרתה היא מצד

^{*} Fol. 139, col. 2. + Fol. 112, col. 1.

החסד ואם ח"ו נטמאה כמו שהיה הכהן מטהר את המצורע דכתיב ביום טהרתו והובא אל הכהן כן הנשמה נטהרת על ידי אשו של גיהנם כדי שתתלבן ואחר כך עולה על ידי מיכאל שהוא הכהן העליון המקריב נשמות של צדיקים "But since that the soul has its influx : כדפי רז"ל: from the property of grace; so likewise is its purification from the property of grace. And, if, what God forbid, it should become impure; like as the priest used to purify the leper, according to the scripture, On the day of his purification, let him be brought to the priest; so is the soul purified by means of hell fire, in order that it may be purged, and afterwards be a holocaust by the hand of Michael, who is the celestial priest that offers up the souls of the righteous, according to the exposition of our Rabbies of blessed memory." In Romemuth $El:^*$ מי נתן בית המקדש של מעלה והקרבת נפשות הצדיקים במזבח עליון ע"י מיכאל השר הגדול בגלגל חמה ועוד שא"כ נמצא שבית המקדש של מעלה איננו עומד כי אם סובב סובב יום יום ע"י הגלגל יומי וכדאי בזיוו לב"ה של מעלה יקיף את הארץ הלזו העכור' יום יום ושיהי' בעולם הגלגלי' למטה מעולם המלאכים ולא עוד אלא שגלגל מאדים ונלגל צדק וגלגל שבתאי וגלגל המזלו' וגלגל יומי יהיו כל אלה למעלה מב"ה של מעלה: "None would act so absurdly as to place the heavenly sanctuary, and the offering of the souls of the righteous upon the celestial altar by Michael, the great prince, in the orb of the sun. For, at that

^{*} Ps. XIX. fol. 12, col. 4.

rate, the heavenly sanctuary would not be still, but every day revolving by virtue of the diurnal orb; and, as though it were not a sufficient disparagement to the heavenly sanctuary to move round the earth by such daily course, and to be placed in the planetary world below that of the angels, the orb of Mars, of Jupiter, and of Saturn, together with the orb of the signs, and the diurnal orb, would all of them be above it." In addition to these testimonies it is worthy of remark, that with Philo Judæus the doctrine of a mundane temple, and of the great angel, whom he calls the divine Word, officiating therein in quality of chief priest, is plainly inculcated; for the truth and confirmation of which I need but refer to the first volume of this work.

That we have hence a very important proof of the reasonableness and consistency of the doctrine of the incarnation, is evident to the least discerning. The sum of the tradition is unquestionably this, that with the Supreme Being there is no remission of past guilt, no entrance into paradise, no participation of his glorious presence, not even for the most righteous, without a divine atonement; and that the illustrious personage who alone has power and authority to make that acceptable atonement, is the Lord of the presence, the Metatron, the Wisdom, or the Word, of Jehovah. The opinion, that he offers up the souls of the righteous, and

that only for the benefit of Israel, though not exactly coinciding with the christian doctrine of the divine atonement; yet makes as near an approach to that standard of truth, as it is possible for an opinion to do, not wholly the same with the doctrine itself. The language of our church is, that the Word incarnate, having ascended into heaven from whence he came, and entered into the sanctuary of the heavenly Jerusalem, is there abiding in the presence of the Holy One, blessed be he; and, though he does not offer the souls of the righteous, according to the tradition before us, yet has he a something to offer of far greater price, and that is his own righteous and spotless soul which he assumed of the virgin for the purpose of offering it upon the cross, and which having but once offered in the sight of mankind, he is perpetually pleading before the Holy One, blessed be he, as an adequate atonement for the sin of the world; but more especially for those, who have laid hold of the promises of God through faith in the Messiah, the spiritual Israel. There exists, therefore, no ground for withholding the conclusion, that the tradition in question is highly corroborative of the christian atonement; and as such may be fairly urged as an adequate reason, why the mystery of the incarnation should have been consonant to the divine will, there being for man, according to the doctrine of the Jewish church, no admission into the

divine presence without an atonement, and no atonement to be offered but by the hand of the Metatron, and no offering fit to be made except that of a pure and immaculate soul.

CHAPTER VI.

HITHERTO the general Proposition, which we undertook to prove, has been fortified by collateral arguments of some magnitude and importance, in which the consistency, reasonableness, and expediency of the thing itself have been rendered apparent; we must now make preparations for laying the key-stone of the arch, and for rearing a column upon which the whole fabric securely resting, may at once be deemed capable of sustaining its own weight, and of resisting those external shocks with which, from the nature and quality of its form, it is likely to be assailed. The tenor of the argument is this. In the writings of the Jewish prophets, agreeably to the interpretation of both Jews and Christians, there are some remarkable predictions of the appearance of an illustrious personage in the world, whom both parties have agreed to designate by the title of, the Messias; this appel lation having been bestowed on him in consideration of his being anointed or consecrated to the discharge

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of some high and extraordinary function, but particularly the regal one. Now, with the christians, this Messias foretold by the prophets, and of whom such high expectations have been raised by the writers of the Jewish church, is affirmed to be no less than the second personality of the Godhead incarnate, the very Christ whom they worship as the founder of their faith; whereas the aggregate body of Jewish professors at this day deny, that the Messias was to be any thing more than a mere man, whether we regard the authority of the scriptures, or the traditions of the fathers. In this place, therefore, I purpose to combat the prejudices of the Jew; and as well from the language of the prophets as from the traditions of the church, to demonstrate by the method of induction, that, though the Messias is no where expressly said to be a personality of the Godhead; yet, that nothing less could have been meant, whether we respect the lofty descriptions which they have left us of his origin and character, or the dignity and importance of those offices which he was destined to fill. Before I proceed, however, to the consideration of the main question, I must stop to correct some mistakes, or rather falsehoods, which have been industriously propagated on our part of the Jewish controversy; as well as to solve some difficulties of a general complexion, which here present themselves in our way on the part of our adversaries.

To bring their work at once to a conclusion, some of our divines, and those, too, of great name in the christian world, have ventured to assert, that, according to the cabbalists, the second numeration of the Godhead, called Wisdom, was to dwell in the Messias; and, that in the targumists, on several occasions, the Messias is identified with the Word of Jehovah. These notes nearly all that have dared to be Rabbinical scholars amongst us have been chanting, like so many cuckows, for the last two or three hundred years, without vouchsafing either quotation or reference for the truth of their statements. The assertions are both false. The cabbalists have no where stated, that the numeration, Wisdom, was to dwell in the Messias; and as to the targumists, so far from making the Messias the same with the Word of Jehovah, they have oftener than once distinguished between them, Nor is this to be wondered at. The targumists and cabbalists were led to contemplate the Word and Wisdom of Jehovah as a divine subsistency, but the predicted Messias as the offspring of David; and, though at the incarnation the divine and human natures were united in one person; vet, certainly, before that event took place, the Word or Wisdom of Jehovah was not the Messias: and, therefore, if at any time the fathers of the Jewish church should appear to have made a personal distinction, the reason of their conduct is

easily explained.

But besides those erroneous assertions of our christian divines, there are some difficulties thrown in the way by certain Jews themselves, which it is our business to obviate before we proceed any further. Maimonides, and, after him, Bechai, and Abarbinel both seem to have been of opinion, that the Messias was not to differ in any thing from the other potentates of Israel; but to reign and die like any other king, and to be succeeded on his throne by a lasting posterity. The first of these authors, in his commentary on the Mishna, appears to have founded the doctrine on the following text of Isaiah: He shall not fail, nor be discouraged, till he shall have set judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law: though, certainly, these words of the prophet will warrant no such conclusion; nor has any expositor, not even Abarbinel himself, adventured to infer from them the actual death of the Messias, but, that he should overcome by perseverance the superstions of gentilism. In Massecheth Sanhedrin, indeed, the days of the Messias are variously stated. R. Eleazer said, that the days of the Messias would be forty years; R. Eleazar ben Azaria, seventy years; Rabbi, three generations; R. Dosa, four hundred years; Abimi ben R. Abhu, seven thousand years; and Samuel, from the day on

which the world was created till now: but these are to be considered rather as certain positive parts of his reign, demonstrable from the expressions of scripture, than as different and contrary accounts of the length of his days. For the same Rabbi who in one place speaks of three generations, in another makes the days of the Messias three hundred and sixty-five years; nay, if we can credit the gloss of Jarchi, according to the reading of some copies, even three hundred and sixty-five thousand years; because in the psalmist the age of the Messias is equalled to that of the sun; and, since the days of the sun are three hundred and sixty-five, which in the style of the inspired penmen may stand for so many years, or even thousands of years: therefore, Rabbi did not scruple to conclude, that the reign of the Messias would equal that calculation. In like manner, by the forty years of R. Eleazar, and the four hundred years of R. Dosa. Maharsha, in his celebrated commentary on the Gemara, directs us to understand no more than that for the forty years of sorrow which Israel had experienced in the wilderness, they should have forty years of joy; and, that for the four hundred years of Egyptian servitude, which had elapsed between the immediate promise of the land to Abraham and the subsequent possession of it by his posterity, an equal number of years would be made up and supplied to them in the reign of the Messias. But by the tradition of Samuel, that his days should be from the first of the creation till now, as well as by that of R. Nachman bar Isaac, that they should be as the days of Noach, the same Maharsha authorises us to understand, that the days of the Messias should be equal to the days of this world. From these ancient traditions, therefore, of the Jewish church, there is no ground for the conceit of Maimonides, that the Messias was not materially to differ from the other pious kings of Israel, and still less for the grosser conception, that he should be succeeded on the throne by the heirs male of his body; for of this I can find no traces, whatever, in the pages of the talmud. Nay with all due deference to the name of the author, I hesitate not to declare, that they are altogether novel inventions, originating from that culpable desire every where apparent in his writings, of paring down the sublimities of Judaism to the standard of the Greek philosophy; for, that the generality of the Jewish divines had imbibed no such corrupt notions, but sincerely believed, that the Messias would reign personally for ever, the immense number of quotations hereafter to be produced from their works, in illustration and confirmation of the prophecies concerning him, will abundantly manifest.

But, though the notion of the Messias being succeeded by his posterity is highly repugnant to the

stream of tradition; the doctrine of two Messiases. the Messias ben David, and the Messias ben Joseph, or, as some call him, the Messias ben Ephraim, presents an obstacle not so easily removed, as it has the sanction and authority of the talmud itself. In Massecheth Succa, there is repeated mention of the Messias ben Joseph along with the Messias ben David; and in the targum of the Canticles, likewise, we read of the Messias ben David, and the Messias ben Ephraim. Indeed the vestiges of the doctrine may be traced as far back as the third or fourth century; though higher than that, as now taught, it cannot well be carried. The best proof of this matter is the history of Barcocab. In the middle of the second century, that impostor planted his standard at Bither; and so general was the persuasion of his being the promised Messias, that the celebrated R. Akiba himself was led away by the delusion, and supported his pretensions to the last extremity. He assumed the name and character of the Messias ben David; and claimed to himself the application of all the prophecies, but especially the famous prediction of Balaam, from which he was surnamed Barcocab; as if he had been the very star itself commemorated in that prophecy. The disastrous termination of his life, however, together with the slaughter of so many thousands of his countrymen in the war with the Romans, betrayed the imposture; and R.

Akiba was amongst the first of his adherents to acknowledge the deception. Now, from this story it is clear, that they must have been ignorant of any Messias ben Joseph in addition to the Messias ben David. For, if the Jews had then generally believed, as they do now, that for the restoration of their kingdom the Messias ben Joseph was first to come, and to die fighting at the head of his army against Gog and Magog; they would neither have admitted the pretensions of Barcocab to the character of the Messias ben David, nor would they have so readily condemned him for an impostor, merely because he was slain in battle; as the fate which he experienced, exactly coincided with that which they still maintain shall happen to Ben Joseph. But the contrary of all this was certainly the fact. They received Barcocab as the Messias ben David: and on his being slain by the Romans, they instantly concluded, that he was not the Messias; because, contrary to their expectations, he had been vanguished by his enemies. Between the days, therefore, of R. Akiba and the compilation of the Gemara, the date of the now generally received opinion of two distinct and different Messiases may properly be fixed. In the among and a see have the an

But besides, that the origin of the doctrine, as now taught, is wholly subsequent to the reign of Barcocab; there are reasons for believing, that, when rightly considered and explained, the tradi-

tion is not so very inconsistent and incompatible with our own views and definitions of the subject, as some have suspected. From the gross stupidity and unpardonable ignorance of most christian writers in Rabbinical matters, the world is labouring under an impression, that the Jews to a man assert the belief of two different Messiases; and, that this notion they have maliciously invented and propagated from their secret enmity to the christian faith. Sorry I am to remark, that for many of our christian divines it does not seem sufficient to be found ignorant of that literature which they affect to despise; but, in addition to that ignorance, they must cherish the most groundless suspicions, and utter the most uncharitable reflections against a body of people, whose unhappy situation ought to excite within us the highest degree of interest and compassion, instead of prompting us to asperse and calumniate them in a matter of which, I do not hesitate to say, they are perfectly innocent. To give, therefore, a more friendly turn to this part of the Jewish controversy, I shall bring together a variety of original testimonies, in which there may occur any singular mention of the Messias ben Joseph; and then deduce such inferences as from a due regard to the premises we may seem warranted in making.

The earliest occurrence of his name is in Massecheth Succa; where we meet with the following Vol. II.

testimonies:* הספדא מאי עבידתיה פליגי בה רבי דוסא ורבנן חד אמר על משח בן יוסף שנהרג וחד אמר על יצר הרע שנהרג בשלמא למ"ד על משיח בן יוסף שנהרג שנ' והביטו אלי את אשר דקרו וספדו עליו כמספד על היחיד והמר עליו כהמר על הבכור: "But as to the lamentation, why it is made, R. Dosa and the Rabbies disagreed; the one saying, Because of the Messias ben Joseph being slain; the other, Because of the evil principle being completely slain. To him who said, Because of the Messias ben Joseph being slain, there is the evidence of the scripture, And they shall look unto me whom they have pierced; and they shall lament over him as though they were lamenting over an only child, and their anguish for him shall be as the anguish for a first-born son."---:† תנו רבנן משיח בן דוד שעתיד לגלות במהרה בימינו אמר לו הק"בה בני שאל מה אתה מבקש ואני נותן לך שנאמר אספרה אל חוק ה' אמר אלי בני אתה ונו' שאל ממני ואתנה נוים נחלתיך ואחוותך אפסי ארץ כיון שרואה למשיח בן יוסף שנהרג אמר לפניו רב"שע איני מבקש ממך אלא חיים אומר לו הק"בה עד שלא עמדת כבר התנבא עליך דוד אביך "The Rabbies : שנאמר חיים שאל ממך נתת לו have handed down: To the Messias ben David, whose manifestation to the captivity God grant to take place immediately in these our days, the Holy One said, My son, ask of me what thou choosest, and I will give it thee: as it is said in scripture, * Een Yaacob, fol. 112, col. 1. † Ibid. fol. 112, col. 2.

I will tell the decree, Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my son, &c. ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession. When he saw the Messias ben Joseph slain, he said in his presence, Master of the universe, I ask nothing of thee except life. The Holy One said to him, Before thou stoodest up, thy father, David, had already prophecied concerning thee; He asked life of thee, thou gavest it him."—:* דיראני ה' ד' חרשים מאי נינהו ד' חרשים אמ' רב חנא בר ביזנא א"ר שמעון חסידא זה משיח בן דוד ומשיח בן יוסף "And the Lord shewed me :ואליהו וכהן צדק four carpenters. Who are these four carpenters? R. Channa bar Bizena said, R. Simeon Chasida said, These are the Messias ben David, the Messias ben Joseph, Elijah, and the priest of righteousness." The only gloss on any of the above testimonies, worth citing, is that of Maharsha: על משיח בן יוסף כו' דבגאולה העתידה בב"י בתחלה יבא משיח בן יוסף להושיע ישראל כמש" ובית יוסף להבה ובית עשו לקש וגו' שאין זרעו של עשו כלה אלא ע"י משיח בן יוסף אבל ע"י עכ"ום רבים שיבואו שוב לירושלים נהרג ולא יהיה גאול' שלמה עד בא משיח בן דוד כמפורש " Because of the Messias ben Jo- :'בכמ' מקראו' seph, &c. For, at the future redemption amongst the children of Israel, there will first appear the Messias ben Joseph to save Israel, according to the scripture, And the house of Joseph shall be-

come a flame, &c. and the house of Esau stubble, &c. because the seed of Esau is not to be annihilated but by the hand of the Messias ben Joseph. Nevertheless, he shall be slain by those numerous heathens, who will turn against Jerusalem; and the redemption will be imperfect until the coming of the Messias ben David, as is clearly set forth in ever so many texts of scripture." In the targum of the Canticles, he is thus mentioned:* פריקיך דעתידין למפרקך משיח בר דוד ומשיח בר אפרים דמין למשה ואהרן בני יוכבד דאמתילו לתדין אורזילון תיומי טביא והוו רען לעמא בית ישראל בזכותיהון ארבעין שנין במדברא במנא ובעופין פטימין "Two are thy redeemers, who בארא דמר בארא shall redeem thee, the Messias bar David and the Messias bar Ephraim, resembling Moses and Aaron, the two sons of Jochebed, who were likened to two kids, the twins of a goat; and who fed the people, the house of Israel, by their meritorious conduct, forty years in the desart with manna, fatted birds, and the waters of the well of Miriam." In Medrash Rabboth: ד"א לי גלעד ולי מנשה לפי שיש מחלוקת הרבה על המשוחים יש אומר שבעה שנא' והקמונו עליו שבעה רועים וי"א שמונה ושמונה נסיכי אדם ואינו אלא מה שמפורש ארבעה שנאמר ויראני ה' ארבעה חרשים ואומר מה אלה באים לעשות ויאמר לאמר אלה תקרבנות אשר זרו וגומר ואלו הן ד' חרשים דוד בא ומפרש לי גלעד זה אליהו שהי' מתושבי גלעד לי מנשה זה משיח שעומד * C. iv. ver. 5. vid. c. vii. ver. 3. + Fol. 211, col. 4.

מבניו של מנשה שנא' לפני אפרים זבנימן ומנשה אפרים מעוז ראשי זה משוח מלחמה שבא מאפרים שנא' בכוד שורו הדר לו ויהודה מחוקקי זה הגואל הגדול שהוא "But again, Gilead is mine, :מבני בניו של דוד: and Menasseh is mine: for there is a great diversity of opinion about the anointed ones; some reckoning seven, according to the text, And we shall raise up against him seven shepherds; and others eight, according to the text, And eight principal men. But there are four only, who are clearly set forth, according to the scripture, And the Lord shewed me four carpenters, and I said, What do these come to do? And he answered, and said, Those are the horns, which have scattered, &c. and these are the four carpenters, whom David comes, and explains, saying, Gilead is mine; this is Elijah, who was of the inhabitants of Gilead; Menasseh is mine; this is the Messias, who shall arise from amongst the children of Menasseh, according to the scripture, Before Ephraim, and Benjamin, and Menasseh. Ephraim is the strength of my head; this is the army chaplain, who shall come from Ephraim, according to the scripture, His glory is the firstling of his bullock. Judah is my lawgiver; this is the great redeemer from the sons of the sons of David" In Tykune לאיהו יהא לה בפורקנא בתיירתא חרות *: Zohar ממלאד המות דלא ימות משיח בן אפרים חרות משעבוד

^{*} Fol. 145, col. 1.

"So, in לעלם: מלכיות דלא ישתעבדון בה ובבנהא לעלם: the latter redemption, she shall have freedom from the angel of death, for the Messias ben Ephraim shall never die; freedom from the servitude of the gentile powers, for they shall not make slaves of her and her children any longer." In Zohar Chadash :* ובהאי יומא יתערון עשר שבטין לאגחא קרבין לארבע סטרין דעלמא בהדי משיחא דאמשחו עלייהו ויקבל משיחו על יד דחד כהן צדק ושבעה רועים מהימנן עמיה ומשיחא דא משבטא דאפרים הוא ומזרעא דירבעם בן נבט הוי מבריה דאביה ועולימא מת וההוא יומא דמת אתייליד ליה בר ואתנטיל מבי ירבעם למדברא ותמן נטלו מאה ושבעין גברין כלהו זכאין משבטא דאפרי' דלא אשתכחו בחובא דירבע' ומהאי בריה דאביה נפיק האי משיחא ועל דא כתיב וספדו עליו כל בית ישראל וקברו אותו סתם האי נבואה לשעתא ונבואה לעתיד כי הוא לבדו יבא לירבעם אל קבר יען נמצא בו דבר טוב אל ה' אלהי ישראל בבית ירבעם דא האי "In that day the ten משיח דאיהו דבר טוב אל ה': tribes shall rise up to wage war with the four quarters of the world by the Messias whom they shall choose to anoint over them. He shall receive his consecration at the hand of a righteous priest, together with seven faithful shepherds. This Messias is of the tribe of Ephraim, and of the seed of Jereboam, the son of Nebat. He is from a son of Abija, who, when an infant, died; and on the day on which he died, there was born to him a son, and

^{*} Fol. 45, col. 1.

he was taken away from the house of Jereboam into the desart; where a hundred and seventy, all righteous men, of the tribe of Ephraim, who had not been implicated in the sin of Jereboam, took him up; and from that son of Abija, comes this Messias of whom the scripture saith, And all the house of Israel shall mourn over him, and shall bury him; which, absolutely taken, is a prophecy of the present, and a prophecy of the future: for he only belonging to Jereboam shall come to the grave, because in him was found something good towards the Lord God of Israel in the house of Jereboam; this is the Messias, who is called, something good towards the Lord."—:* דבר אחר עיר קטנה דא ציון ואנשים בה מעט אלו ששת ימי בראשית ובא עליה מלך גדול וסבב אותה דא פלוני ומצא בה איש מסכן וחכם דא משיח בן דוד שנאמר עני ורוכב על חמור שנאמר הצדיק אבד כל זמן שלא יבא עליו שפע ועליו נאמר ונהר יחרב ויבש חמור דא סמאל וחכם דא משיח בן דוד ועליו נאמר ומלט הוא את העיר בחכמתו שיהיה "But משיח בן אפרים ודא הוא פרוקא מלעילא: again. A little city; this is Zion. And a very few men in it; these are the six days of the creation. And there came against it a great king, and he besieged it; this is some one or other. And he found in it a man poor and wise; this is the Messias ben David, according to the scripture, Poor, and riding upon an ass; as it is said, The

^{*} Fol. 63, col. 2.

righteous man perisheth, all the time that no influx descendeth upon him; and of him it is said, The river shall waste and dry up. An ass; this is Samael. And wise; this is the Messias ben David, and of him it is said, And he rescueth the city by his wisdom: for the Messias ben Ephraim will be a redeemer; but this is a deliverer from heaven."--- *: אוכל לנאול פן אשחית את נחלתי מכאן דתרין משיחין אינון נואל קרוב וגואל רחוק נואל קרוב מסטרא דימינא נואל רחוק דא משיחא בן יוסף ומאן איהו יוסף דאיקרי צדיק ודא איהו משיחא דאתי ראשון: "I cannot redeem for fear I should spoil my own inheritance. Hence it appears, there are two Messiases, a near redeemer and a remote redeemer; the near redeemer from the right-hand side, the remote redeemer the Messias ben Joseph. But who is Joseph? He that is called righteous; and this is the Messias that is to come first." In Shoshannath בי הוא יתברך לבל יהיה כמו זר נחשב †: Haamakim ענין תחיית המתים הראה הוא ית'כן על יד אליהו ואלישע ויחזקאל כן ע"ד זה יאמר הנה הנצנים הם שני המשיחים כבר נראו בארץ משיח בן יוסף ומשיח בן דוד והוא מאמר תנא דבי אליהו אותו הנע' שהחייתי משיח בן אפרים הוא ורמז רמזתי לעולם שאני אבא תחלה ואחר כך יבא הוא ובזה יובן אצלי מאמר רו"ל שאמר יונה ללוויתן אני עתיד לחלקך לצדיקים לעתיד לבא שהנה ראוי לדעת למה זה יתחלק על ידו מעל יד זולתו שיאמר על זה אשר נדרתי אשלמה אך הוא כי יונה הוא הנער שהחיה אליהו והו'

^{*} Ibid. fol. 68, col. 3. + Fol. 6, col. 4.

משיח בן אפרים וכבר נראו בארץ וכן משיח בן דוד נראה בעת החרבן כמאמרם ז"ל באיכה רבתי שנולד בעת החרבן "For the blessed God, : ואחר ימום שנראה נתכסה that the article of the resurrection might not appear a strange and absurd conceit, demonstrated the truth of it both by the hand of Elijah, of Elisha, and of Ezekiel. Accordingly, the scripture here saith, Lo the flowers, that is, the two Messiases, have already appeared in the land; the Messias ben Joseph and the Messias ben David. Such, too, is the tenor of the tradition of the college of Elijah, who said, The young man whom I raised to life again, is the Messias ben Ephraim; and I thereby intimated to the world, that I am to come first, and afterwards he shall come. By this, also, I understand the saying of our Rabbies of blessed memory, That Jonah said to the Leviathan, I shall divide thee among the righteous, in the time to come: for, certainly, it is matter of curiosity, why he should have to be divided by his hand rather than by any other; so that it should be said of it by him, What I have vowed, I shall pay. But the fact is this, that Jonah is the young man whom Elijah restored to life, the same with the Messias ben Ephraim; and these have already appeared in the land. So likewise, the Messias ben David appeared at the time of the devastation of the temple, according to the statement of our Rabbies of blessed memory in Echa Rabbatti, That he was born at Vor. II.

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the time of the devastation; but, that within a few days after he had appeared, he was concealed." In Reshith Chocmah:* ארבע חיות בכסא הכבוד אדם ואריה ושור ונשר פני אדם ופני אריה מימין ופני שור ופני נשר משמאל לכל אחת מד' חיות שבכסא יש רמז פני אדם כצורת יעקב עליו השלו' שאם יחטאו ישראל יביט הק"בה בצורתו ומרחם עליהם פני אריה כנגד משיח בן דוד שהוא משבט יהוד' שנאמ' בו גור אריה יהודה ואם יחטאו ישראל ישאנ כאריה ומיד מרחם עליהם פני שור כנגד משית בן יוסף שכתוב בו בכור שורו הדר לו ואם יחטאו ישראל גועת כשור ומיד מרחם עליהם פני נשר כנגד אליהו שמס העולם בד' טיטות ואם יחטאו ישראל הוא טס לפני הק"בה ומצפצת כנשר ומיד מרחם עליהם ומשיב ליעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב ומשיב למשיח בן אפרים מה אעשה לד אפרים ומשיב למשיח בן דוד מה אעשה לך יהודה ומשיב לישראל הנה אנכי שולח לכם וגו': -There are four living creatures in the Throne of Glory, man, lion, ox, and The face of the man, and the face of the lion, are on the right; but the face of the ox, and the face of the eagle, are on the left. In each of these there is something intimated. The face of a man is according to the form of Jacob, peace be upon him; so that, if Israel sin, the Holy One, blessed be he, may look upon his form, and have compassion upon them. The face of a lion answers to the Messias ben David, of the tribe of Judah, of whom the scripture saith, Judah is a lion's whelp: and, if Israel sin, he roars like a lion;

^{*} Fol. 268, col. 2.

and instantly he has compassion upon them. The face of an ox answers to the Messias ben Joseph, of whom it is said, His honour is the firstling of his ox: and, if Israel sin, he bellows like an ox; and instantly he has compassion upon them. The face of an eagle answers to Elijah, who flew from the world in four flights; and, if Israel sin, he flies before the Holy One, blessed be he, and peeps like an eagle; and immediately he has compassion upon them. To Jacob he replies, Fear not, my servant, Jacob. To the Messias ben Ephraim he replies, What shall I do for thee, Ephraim. To the Messias ben David he replies, What shall I do for thee, Judah. To Israel he replies, Behold 1 will send to you, &c." In Mikve Israel of R. Menasseh:* Quâ tamen ratione futura sit illa redemptio, nullus mortalium dixerit; sed, quantum quidem ex prophetis colligere licet, tempore illo X tribus venient Hierosolymam, sub ductu principis, quem Rabbini nonnulli in talmud et paraphrasi Chaldæa aliquot in locis vocant Messiam filium Joseph; et alibi, Messiam filium Ephraim; qui cæsus in ultimo bello Gog, et Magog, ostendet se esse Messiam filium Davidis, qui erit, ut dicunt Oseas et Ezechiel, princeps æternus omnium XII tribuum. Messiæ istius filii Ephraimi mentionem faciunt multis in locis sapientes, maxime vero in Thalmud

^{*} Sect. xxv. p. 78; Amst. ed. 1650.

Babylonico in tractatu Suca c. 5. ubi moriturum eum aiunt in ultimo bello Gog et Magog, et ita explicant c. 13. prophetæ Zachariæ: Et aspicient ad me, quem confixerunt, plangentque super eo, ut solet super unigenito filio. Addunt etiam, quod quatuor duces, de quibus propheta idem loquitur cap. II. sunt Messias filius David, Messias filius Josephi, propheta Elias, et summus sacerdos, quæ quatuor istæ dignitates sunt, quæ in isto sæculo beato ostendent potentiam suam. Advertite autem, quod aliquando vocent Messiam filium Ephraimi, aliquando Josephi: Prodibit enim ex tribu Ephraimi, et erit dux omnium decem tribuum, nomen Ephraimo dantium, propterea quod primus eorum rex Jeroboam ex ista tribu fuit. Non sine ratione vocant ipsum filium Josephi; ipse enim erat verus typus domi Israelis propter incarcerationem suam, ac subsequentem felicitatem. Adde, quod tamdiu fratres suos latuerit, ut plane iis ignoraretur; prorsus ut hodie decem tribus, quæ, utut captivas se dicant, postmodum tamen ad summum felicitatis fastigium adscendent eodem, ac Joseph, modo. Iste Messias Josephi morietur în prælio Gog et Magog, et postea resurget, ut fungatur dignitate istâ, non sceptro quidem regis, sed munere tantum viceregis, ut Josephus in Ægypto; eo quod imperium domûs Israelis cecidit sub regno Oseæ, filii Elæ, ut ait propheta Amos, c.5. v. 2. Non restaurabitur igitur regnum decem tribuum, ut monet Ezechiel c. 37.

sub imperio Messiæ filii Davidis, qui erit æternus, et per mortem Messiæ, filii Josephi, agnoscent X tribus Deum nolle, ut plures habeant, præter unum, principes; ut supra diximus. "But in what manner that redemption shall take place, no man can say; though, as far as it can be collected from the prophets, at that time the ten taibes will come to Jerusalem under the command of a prince whom the Rabbies in several places of the talmud, and in the Chaldee paraphrase, call the Messias the son of Joseph, and at other times the Messias the son of Ephraim; who, after having been slain in the last war of Gog and Magog, will shew himself to be the Messias the son of David, who, as Hosea and Ezekiel affirm, shall be the everlasting prince of the twelve tribes. The sages make mention of the Messias the son of Ephraim in many places; but, especially in the Babylonish talmud, Massecheth Succa, chapter the fifth, where they affirm, that he shall die in the last war of Gog and Magog; and so explain in reference to that event the prediction of the prophet, Zechariah, And they shall look upon me, whom they have pierced; and they shall lament over him as though they were lamenting over an only begotten son. They add, moreover, that the four leaders of whom the same prophet speaks in chapter eleventh, are the Messias, the son of David; the Messias, the son of Joseph; the prophet, Elijah; and the high-priest; which

are the four dignities, or titles, which, in that happy age, shall manifest their power. But observe, that they call him, sometimes, the Messias, the son of Ephraim; and, sometimes, the Messias, the son of Joseph. For he will proceed out of that tribe; and will be the leader of the ten tribes, who take the name of Ephraim, because their first king, Jereboam, was sprung from that tribe. Nor is it without reason, that they call him the son of Joseph; for he, in consideration of his imprisonment and subsequent prosperity, was a true type of the house of Israel. Not to mention, that for long he concealed himself from his brethren, so as to be wholly unknown to them, just as the ten tribes at this day, who, however they may deem themselves captives, will by and by ascend to the highest pitch of prosperity, in the same manner that Joseph did. This Messias ben Joseph will die in the war of Gog and Magog; and afterwards will rise again to discharge that very honourable function, not indeed of the regal sceptre, but of the vicegerency, as Joseph did in Egypt; for the regal sway of the house of Israel, according to the declaration of the prophet, Amos, chapter the fifth, verse the second, fell under the reign of Hosea, the son of Ela. The kingdom of the ten tribes, therefore, as Ezekiel denounces, in chapter the thirty-seventh, will not be restored under the reign of the Messias, the son of David, who shall be eternal: and, by the death of the Messias,

the son of Joseph, the ten tribes will acknowledge, that it is not the pleasure of God, that they should have any more princes than one, as we have before said." In addition to these testimonies, Buxtorf, on the authority of Jalkut Shimoni, has cited and translated from the Pesikta a most remarkable and interesting account of the sufferings of the Messias, in which he is equally called the son of David, the Messias our Righteousness, and Ephraim Messias; nor is there in the whole of that passage any allusion, whatever, to two Messiases, the one to suffer, and the other to triumph; but, on the contrary, both these characters are ascribed to one and the same person; who, whilst he is here said even from the creation of the world voluntarily to have undertaken his sufferings for the salvation of Israel, is at the same time exhorted by the Deity himself to be resolute and courageous; for that, as the prophet had foretold, the impious would be slain by the breath of his mouth. Had I been in possession of a copy of the Pesikta, I should certainly have cited the original; but, as I am not so fortunate, I must content myself with referring to the Latin translation of Buxtorf,* whose extraordinary learning and candour are an adequate pledge for the correctness of his veracity.

Here, then, we have a number of seemingly very opposite and contradictory statements, relative to the character of the Messias ben Ephraim; to re-

^{*} Vid. Exercit. p. 140.

concile which with the truth of the gospel history, is a much less difficult task than to reconcile them with each other. That some of the Jewish fathers did certainly expect two distinct, though not equal, Messiases, is apparent from the talmud; and in so doing they seem to have been influenced by the voice of the prophets, who in more places than one predict under the auspices of some leader the victories of Joseph and Ephraim, that is, of the whole ten tribes, denominated Ephraim. Firmly expecting the return of the ten tribes, as well as of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, they naturally concluded, that the accomplishment of the former would take place under the command of a Messias from amongst their own people, who should rise up and instigate them to action; for, that it could not be so readily done by the Messias ben David, they were persuaded as well from the consideration, that he should spring from none of those tribes, as that the tribes of Judah and Benjamin whose salvation he was destined to effect, were dispersed over those parts of the earth where of the rest of the twelve tribes no vestiges were to be found. Thus led to believe, they have handed down to posterity the mention of two Messiases, the one for the redemption of the kingdom of Judah, and the other for that of the kingdom of Ephraim; but whether by the expression, Ben Ephraim, they always meant to denote a lineal de-

scendant from Ephraim, the son of Joseph; or only an individual of the kingdom of the ten tribes, is not so easy to determine; though the latter supposition is certainly the more probable: for in the tradition of Elijahu we find his person identified with that of Jonah, the son of Amittai, who was either of Asher or of Zebulon; and in Medrash Rabboth his pedigree is deduced from the loins of Menasseh; both which are wholly incompatible with the supposition, that he should literally spring from the posterity of Ephraim. In either case, they never considered him as that illustrious personage who, according to the prophets, was to sit for ever on the throne of David, and to rule the twelve tribes; but merely as a valiant captain, who should perish in the laudable attempt to reestablish the kingdom of Israel: for, however they may differ in other respects; in the opinion, that the twelve tribes shall form but one kingdom, and, that the throne of that kingdom shall be filled by the Messias ben David, the writers of the Jewish church are confessedly unanimous.

But, whilst some have inculcated the doctrine of a Messias ben Joseph as distinct from the Messias ben David, and have applied the several predictions of the prophets partly to the one, and partly to the other; it at the same time appears, as well from the Tykune Zohar, as from the Pesikta, two authorities of equal weight with the talmud itself, that

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there have been many who did not distinguish between them; but, that, as they ascribed to the former permanency of life, so did they assign to the latter the sustentation of mental and bodily pain; thus compelling us either to relinquish the idea of their being different persons, or to assert, what the Jewish church with one mouth denies, the perpetual existence of two independent Messiahs. Indeed, that the Messias ben David was to undergo for the expurgation of the iniquities of Israel the most excruciating agonies, is a tradition not only bottomed in scripture, but every where inculcated by Jewish theologists; and, though, on account of the majesty and triumph so universally predicted of him in the writings of the prophets, they have not presumed to hand down, that for the completion of the divine atonement he should actually suffer death upon the cross; yet have they detailed his sufferings with as many circumstances of aggravation, as they stand depicted in Isaiah himself. Hence I cannot but applaud the seemingly middle course of R. Menasseh; who, unless we should be persuaded, that the words, ostendet se esse, are a mistake of the press for, ostendet se non esse, appears to have delivered it as his decided opinion, that, though the Messias ben Joseph should first proceed out of the tribe of Ephraim, and be actually slain in battle with his enemies; yet would he afterwards by rising from the dead demonstrate himself to be the

son of David, and so assume the reigns of power over the whole of the twelve tribes. In all this there is nothing which can be fairly construed into a preconcerted plan for subverting the evidences of the christian faith: so far from that, if we take into consideration the fatal mistake under which they have been labouring of expecting a temporal only instead of a spiritual deliverer, the ambiguous face of many of the prophecies, and the dissocial tendency of theological disputations; their notions on this head, after an interval of more than seventeen hundred years, present as little obstruction to the profession of the gospel as could have been reasonably anticipated. In proceeding, therefore, to allege the prophecies concerning him, I shall pay no deference to the imaginable distinction between the son of David and the son of Ephraim; but availing myself of those respectable authorities which sanction the belief of their being one and the same person, shall account that always a real prophecy of the individual Messias which has generally been expounded of him; no matter whether by some it may have been restricted to the Messias ben David. or by others to the Messias ben Ephraim. In this I am certainly supported by Maimonides; who, in all his accounts of the Messiah, has inculcated the expectation only of the Messias ben David.

Before I proceed, however, with so grave and important an argument, it will be proper to say a

few words on the general interpretation of prophecy; what prophecies I design to bring forward; and how they are to be applied to the proof of the proposition. To the Rabbinical scholar it must be needless to observe, that with the Jews there are other solutions of scripture besides the literal one; that the darushist allegorizes, and the cabbalist mysticises: not that either of these would exclude the literal and primary sense, which they maintain to be the foundation of all; but, because the compositions of the inspired penman were dictated by the Holy Ghost, they, therefore, reasonably infer, that the omniscient and infallible spirit of God might speak by the mouth of the prophets in such a manner as to convey more senses than one; and so intimate to the spiritually minded some divine truth connected either with the future dispensation of things under the Messias, or with the hierarchy of heaven; whilst the plain and literal meaning should be mistaken by none. In this manner they have been closely imitated by the first propagators of the christian faith; who, being Jews by birth as well as by education, copied the example of their forefathers; and so on many occasions have cited passages of scripture as predictive of the life and actions of Christ, which, on a nearer inspection, should be regarded as narratives of something else; and on the other hand have omitted to quote those testimonies which, in their primary and literal ac-

ceptation, refer solely to the subject. Hence by many critics and commentators they have been wrongfully blamed; and by others again very shamefully misunderstood. The prophecies, however, which I here mean to bring forward, are such only as are allowed by the great body of Jewish expositors primarily and literally to belong to the Messias; and, therefore, if in this number I should appear to have taken no notice of some, which are even alleged as such by the first authorities of the christian church, the reader must attribute it to one of these two causes; either, that I do not consider them as immediately referring to the person of the Messias; or, that I cannot establish their application with that force of evidence which is necessary for the conviction of the Jew, and for the design of this work. Thus determined with respect to the quality of the prophecies, I have merely to add, that I shall throw them into three classes; first into such as set forth his presubsistency, his perpetuity, wisdom, power, prerogatives. dignity, character, function, and time of appearance; whereby the divinity of his nature may be fully demonstrated: secondly, into such as speak of his death and sufferings; whereby the great end of his incarnation, the expiation of all sin whatever, may be clearly manifested: and lastly, into such as seem to describe his reascension into heaven; where we now suppose him to be sitting at the right hand of God, the Father, superintending the interests of his church, and expecting till by proper means the opposers of his dynasty shall be rendered his footstool.

CHAPTER VII.

To render those sacred predictions of the inspired penmen unexceptionable grounds for the support of our argument, it will be desirable not only to evince from the highest authorities, that they have the Messias for their subject; but at the same time to notice and refute all contrary interpretations; as well as to fix and determine the import of such terms or expressions as may convey an equivocal and doubtful signification. The most eligible plan, therefore, will certainly be; first, to give the original text of the prophecy with its translation subjoined; then, to refute the opinions and arguments of those expositors, who may have resolved it otherwise than of the Messias; afterwards, to arrange in due order the authorities for applying it to the Messias; and finally, to fix the sense of such of its parts as appear capable of more solutions than one; which, by reason of the glosses and illustrations preceding, will be much more readily and satisfactorily effected.

Now the first remarkable prediction which we have of the Messias, is in the benediction of Jacob:*
לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילה
"The sceptre shall not depart from the lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall be the gathering of the peoples." That we have the general consent of the Jewish church for applying this prediction to the Messias, is most undeniable; but by some it has been otherwise expounded, and therefore, we are called upon to consider, what these expositions may be.

R. Lipman proposes to read; "The rod shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler from between his feet, until he come to Shiloh;" regarding the term, Shiloh, as the proper name of a place; and the peoples, at the end of the pasuk, as the tribes of Israel, which, in the prophetic style more particularly, are often denoted by the plural term, peoples. True it is, that, in the Hebrew, proper names of places may come after verbs of motion without any preposition; and, as, Shiloh, is the proper name of a place of pretty frequent occurrence in the sacred writings; grammar has nothing to oppose to the veracity of this translation: nay, it rather favours it than otherwise; for, Shiloh, as the name of a person, would have come as naturally before the verb as after it; and there is a real

^{*} Gen. xlix. 10.

difficulty in accounting for the solitary appearance of an appellation of dignity or of office in this single text, whilst it is no where to be met with besides in any other part of scripture. It is likewise from the history of Joshua most certain, that the children of Israel did assemble themselves together, and repair to Shiloh; where they erected the tabernacle of the congregation, and the country round them was reduced under their subjection. But, though, in all these important respects, the interpretation is capable of being supported; yet in nothing besides does it accord with the circumstances and facts of history. For, certainly, at no point of time between the pronouncing of this benediction and the assembling together of the tribes to Shiloh was there either sceptre or lawgiver of the tribe of Judah; and, should we even comply with the notion of our author, that the term, shebet, here signifies not a sceptre, but a rod; and the term; mechokek, a lord, rather than a legislator; yet would that remove none of the difficulties attending the interpretation; as Judah had neither rod nor ruler more than the other tribes; and, if even that should be admitted, it still would not appear from history, how according to the tenor of the prediction, they could be said to have retained these badges of power and dominion till they came to Shiloh; as there is nothing related in the circumstances of that event which concerns

either the continuation or the departure of their domination and supremacy. There is, moreover. another consideration highly worthy of remark; that in blessing his other sons, Jacob evidently alludes to what should befal them after their settlement in the holy land, not to what should befal them before they came thither; and, as the house of Judah was destined to make a more considerable figure in history than all the other tribes put together, it cannot but seem a thing highly improbable, yea most stupid, and beyond measure ridiculous to maintain, that the future fate of Judah was less in the contemplation of the venerable patriarch than that of his inferior brethren; especially since it is declared in the opening of the speech, that he was going to predict to them what should befal their posterity at a distant period, and in the latter days. From these and such like considerations I cannot acquiesce in the above interpretation, nor allow it that degree of probability, which, from a simple regard to the principles of speech, it otherwise might seem to possess. Nay, R. Lipman himself did not appear satisfied with it; but on another occasion, as the reader will soon see, was ready to fall in with the general opinion, and to expound the term, Shiloh, of the Messias ben David.

But, if the solution propounded by R. Lipman be inadmissible; that propounded by Aben Ezra Vol. II.

is equally so. This celebrated expositor makes the Shiloh signify king, David; and, by way of reconciling the prophecy with history, ingeniously remarks, that, though David was the first king of Judah, and the regal sway, so far from departing, only commenced with the reign of that prince; yet the prediction, that the sceptre should not depart from them till the coming of David, is not hereby in the least contradicted; for it is usual to say, that such a person shall not want bread till the fields and vineyards produce their crops, not meaning, that he shall then want it, but, that he shall have it more abundantly; the like to which also is that passage of scripture, For I will not forsake thee until I shall have performed that which I promised thee; namely, to bring him back again into the holy land. Now, certainly, these forms of speech are prevalent in all languages; and, if there were nothing to object besides the preposterous sense of the phrase, the interpretation might well be received; but the truth is, these examples are by no means in point; for previous to the reign of David, Judah had neither sceptre nor lawgiver of any kind, as neither Moses, nor Joshua, nor any of the more distinguished judges and deliverers, was of the tribe of Judah; and as to Saul who ruled over all Israel in the very life time of David, he certainly was of the tribe of Benjamin. I cannot, therefore,

acquiesce in the opinion of Aben Ezra; because that were to suppose prophecy at variance with history.

There is yet another mode of interpretation to be found in Tykune Zohar, and suggested by R. Bechai; who thinking it strange, that the dying patriarch should make no allusion to the deliverance of his posterity from Egyptian bondage, is for applying this Shiloh to Moses as well as to the Messias. To its application to Moses in a secondary sense I have nothing to object; but surely it cannot be affirmed of Judah, that they had either sceptre or legislator before the legation of Moses; and, therefore, in its plain and literal acceptation, Moses cannot be the subject. This, indeed, seems tacitly acknowledged by Bechai himself; who, as will be seen below, has expounded it of the Messias as well as of Moses.

To the preceding may be added the opinion of R. Ezekias, as mentioned in the Conciliator of R. Menasseh ben Israel; that by, Shiloh, is meant Ahija of Shiloh, who rent the garment of Jereboam into twelve parts, as a sign of the departure of the sceptre from the house and posterity of Judah. But this carries with it its own refutation; for in no language spoken by man, not even in the ravings of poetry, is the name of a town or city metaphorically employed for a single citizen of that place, so that we should say, until Shiloh come,

for, until a man of Shiloh come; and yet such is evidently the supposition on which this interpretation is grounded.

The above, I think, are all the varieties of exposition which have fallen in my way, in determining the subject of this extraordinary prophecy; and that none of them has the faintest resemblance of truth, is apparent to the least discerning. I shall, therefore, without further delay, proceed to allege those ancient and respectable authorities for expounding it of the Messias; an exposition, which, to the exclusion of all others, we may safely maintain to be that of the whole Jewish church. First of all, it is so expounded by Onkelos, the paraphrast: לא יעדי עביד שולטן מדבית יהודה וספרא מבני בנוהי עד עלמא עד דייתי משיחא דדיליה היא מלכותא "The ruler shall not depart : וליה ישתמעון עממיא from the house of Judah, nor the scribe from amongst his posterity for ever, until that the Messias shall come; whose is the kingdom, and to whom the people shall pay obedience." By the Jerusalem targumist : לא פסקין מלכין מדבית יהודה אף לא ספרין מלפי אורייתא מבני בנוי עד זמן דייתי מלכא משיחא דדידיה היא מלכותא וליה עתידין דישתעבדון כל מלכותא "Kings of the house of Judah shall not : דארעא cease, nor scribes, teachers of the law, from his posterity, till the time that the king Messias shall come; whose is the kingdom, and to whom all the kingdoms of the earth shall be reduced under sub-

jection." By Jonathan ben Uziel: לא פסקין מלכין ושליטין מדבית יהודה וספרין מאלפי אורייתא מזרעיה עד זמן די ייתי מלכא משיחא זעיר בנוי ובדיליה יתימסון "Kings and governors shall not cease : עממיא from the house of Judah, nor scribes, the teachers of the law, from his posterity, until the time that the king Messias, his little son, shall come; and by his means the nations shall become tributary." In Bereshith Rabba:* מכיר מכיר שבט מיהודה זה מכיר ונו' ומחוקק מבין רגליו שבא ונתחבט לפני רגליו עד כי יבא שילה זה מלך המשיח ולו יקהת עמים שהוא בא "The sceptre shall : ומקהה שיניהם של אומות העולם not depart from Judah; this is Machir, &c. Nor the lawgiver from between his feet; that is, he who comes and prostrates himself before his feet. Until Shiloh come; this is the king Messias. And to him shall be the gathering together of the peoples; for he shall come and stun the teeth of the nations of the world." In Massecheth Sanhe-ור' יוחנן אמר למשיח מה שמו דבי ר' שילא drin: + "R. Jeu- ממרי שילה שמו שנא' עד כי יבא שילה שמו שנא' א chanan said, What is the name of the Messias? Those of the college of R. Shila said; Shiloh is his name; as the scripture saith, Until Shiloh come." In Madrash Echa: דבי רבי שילה אמרי שילה שמו של משיח שנאמר עד כי יבא שילה שלה כתי': "Those of the college of R. Shiloh say, that Shiloh

^{*}Fol. 85, col. 3. † Een Yaacob, Part II, fol. 129, col. 4. ‡Fol. 50, col. 2.

is the name of the Messias, according to the scripture, Until Shiloh come; where it is written, Shiloh." By R. Solomon Jarchi :* לא יסור שבט מיהודה מדוד ואילך אלו ראשי גליות שבבבל שרודים את העם בשבט שממונים על פי המלכות: ומחוקק מבין רגליו תלמידים אלו נשיאי א"י: עד כי יבא שילה מלך המשיח שהמלוכה שלו וכן תרגמו אנקלוס ומדרש אגדה שילו שי לו שנ' יובילו שי למור': ולו יקהת עמים "The sceptre shall not depart : אסיפות העמים from Judah; from David, and those heads of the captivity in Babylon, who ruled over the people with a regal sceptre. Nor the lawgiver from between his feet; the students of the law, the princes of the land of Israel. Until Shiloh come; the king Messias, whose is the kingdom, according to the targum of Onkelos; but the Medrash Agada explains, Shilo, by, Shai-lo, For whom is the present; according to the passage, Let them bring a present unto the Lord. And to him shall be the gathering of the peoples: the collecting together of the nations." By R. Moses Nachmanides : לא יסור שבט מיהודה אין ענינו שלא יסור לעולם כי כתוב יולך ה' אותך ואת מלכך אשר תקים עליך אל גוי אשר לא ידעת אתה ואבותיך והנה הם ומלכם בגולה אין להם עוד מלך ושרים וימים רבים אין מלך בישראל והנביא לא יבטיח את ישראל שלא ילכו בשבי בשום ענין בעבור שימלוך עליהם יהודה אבל ענינו שלא יסור שבט מיהודה אל אחד מאחו כי מלכות ישראל המושל עליהם ממנו * Com. in loc. + Com. in loc.

יהיה ולא ימשול אחד מאחיו עליו וכן לא יסור מחוקק מבין רגליו שכל מחוקק בישראל אשר בידו טבעת המלך ממנו יהיה כי הוא ימשול ויצוה בכל ישראל ולו חותם המלכות עד כי יבא בנו ולו יקהת כל העמים לעשות בכולם כרצונו וזהו המשיח כי השבט ירמוז לדוד שהוא המלך הראשון אשר לו שבט מלכות ושילה הוא בנו אשר לו יקחת העמים ולא יתכן מאמר ר"א שאמר שיהיה שילה דוד כי לא היה ליהודה שבט קודם דוד כי אף על פי ששבטו נכבד ונוסע בתחלה אין שבט רק למלך ומושל כדכתיב שבט מישור שבט מלכותך שבט "The sceptre shall not de- :מושלים שבט למשול: part from Judah; the sense is not, that it should never depart at all; for it is written, The Lord shall cause thee to emigrate together with the king whom thou shalt have set over thee, to a heathen nation of which thou knowest nothing, neither thou, nor thy forefathers. Lo, both they and their king are in exile. They no longer have king and princes; and for many days Israel is destitute of a king. Nor does the prophet here promise Israel, that, in consideration of Judah reigning over them, they should in no wise go into captivity; but his meaning is, that the sceptre should not depart from Judah to any of his brethren; that from him always should be the ruler over the kingdom of Israel, and, that over him none of his brethren should exercise dominion. In like manner, the lawgiver shall not depart from between his feet; as from him shall proceed every legislator in Israel

on whose hand is the ring of a king; for he shall rule and order all Israel, and retain the royal seal until his son shall come, to whom will be the gathering of all the nations, to be dealt with according to his pleasure; and this is the Messias; as the sceptre alludes to David, who was the first king that bore a kingly sceptre; and Shiloh is his son, to whom will be the gathering of the peoples. The opinion of Aben Ezra, who makes David the Shiloh, is highly void of probability; since Judah had no sceptre before David: for, though his tribe was much distinguished, and, in marching, led the van; that has nothing to do with the sceptre, which is the badge of a king or governor only, according to the use of it in the scriptures; The sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre; The sceptre of rulers; The sceptre with which to rule." By R. Bechai:* השלישי לא יסור שבט מיהודה על מלך המשי' הגואל האחרון חה שאמר עד כי יבא שילה כלומר בנו היוצא מזרעו וטעם מלת שילה שלא אמר בנו הזכיר יעקב המשיח בשם שילה כלומר בנו שיולד משלית׳ אשה כדר' כל הנולדים מלשון ובשליתה היוצאת מבין רגליה ותוספת ה"א שבמלת שילה רמו לה"א אחרונה שבשם והיא בתו של אברהם והיא שנשאת לשלמה והי' היא מדתו של מלך. המשיח עליו רמז הנביא ע"ה המשה לשונות של שבח הוא שכתוב ונחה עליו רוח יי' רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת ה' והריחו ביראת השם שהרי בומנו של מלד המשיח יהיה שפע * Com. in loc. fol. 68, eol. 2.

הנבואה והחכמה והדעת כמים לים מכסים ויהי באור הכתוב שלא תפסק המלכות ליהודה לעד כשיבא שילה: "The third pasuk, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, refers to the king Messias, the latter redeemer. Thus it is said, Until Shiloh come, that is, his son, proceeding from his seed. But as to the use of the term, Shiloh, instead of, his son; Jacob calls the Messias by the name of Shiloh, meaning, his son, because he should have to be born from the secundines of the woman in the way that all others are born; the use of the term being the same here as in the passage, And towards her after-birth which proceedeth from between her feet. The additional He in, Shiloh, has reference to the latter He in the name, Jehovah; which is the daughter of Abraham, and the spouse of Solomon; and is the property of the king Messias, to which the prophet makes allusion by five kinds of praise, agreeably to the passage; And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord; and he shall make him savour of the fear of Jehovah. For in the age of the Messias the influx of prophecy, of wisdom, and of knowledge, shall be as the waters which cover the sea. The plain sense of this prophecy is, that the kingdom of Judah shall never cease, when once the Messias

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shall have appeared." By R. Lipman :* זהגה אפשר שזאת אמרה תורה לא יסור שבט מיודא ומחוקק מבין רגליו עד ושמה הפסיק העניין והוא מלשון שוכן עד ומלשון צדקתו עומדת לעד ר"ל לא יסור עולמית ומסיים כי יבא שילה וזהו נתינת טעם כלו' לבסוף יבא משיח "Possibly, this may : ולא יתבטל המלוכה עולמית: be the meaning of the law: The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet for ever; where the sense requires a pause, as in the phrases, Dwelling for ever; His righteousness abideth for ever; that is to say, it shall never depart: and then follows the final clause, For the Messias shall come; which is the reason assigned; as though he had said, At last the Messias will come, and then the kingdom shall never be abolished." By R. Moses Alshech:+ כן לעתיד בין החרבן שני למלך המשיח לא יסור שבט מיהודה וכו' עד כי יבא שילה הוא מלך המשיח הוא דוד: "So in future, between the destruction of the second temple and the king Messias, the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, &c. until Shiloh come, that is, the king Messias, the same with David." By R. Isaac Abarbinel at great length: מה כי הנה יעקב אבינו לא זכר מלכות בביאור כמו שפירשו עליו המפרשי' ולכן התחייב אצלם הספק המכר אבל אמר בשבט ר"ל כל מנוי מעלה והנהגה ושררה על יתר אחיו וואת המעלה אמר שלא תסור מיהודה וכבר

^{*} Nitsachon, fol. 157. + Torath Moshe, fol. 86, col. 1. ‡ Com. in loc. fol. 98. col. 3, 4.

מצאנוה בו לפני מלוך מלך בישראל הנה יהודה היה גדול על אחיו גם בימי יוסף ולכן היו הולכים אחר עצתו והעד ויאמר יהודה מה בצע וגומ' וישמעו אחיר ויאמר אליו יהודה לאמר העד העיד וגו' ויאמר יהודה אל ישראל אביו שלחה הנער אתי וגומר וישמע ישראל לעצתו ולא שמע לעצת ראובן וכן ויאמר יהודה לאחיו ויגש אליו יחודה ואת יהודה שלח לפניו א"כ תמיד היה יהודה ראש לכל אחיו גם לדגלים היה דגל מחנה יהודה החונים קדמה וכן במסע הדגלים אומר שדגל יהודה היה נוסע בראשונה ובחנוכת המזבח הקריב נחשון בן עמינדב למטה יהודה ביום הראשון וכשוכר שמות האנשים אשר ינחלו הארץ לישראל עם אלעזר הכהן ויהושע בן נון זכר ראשונה ליהודה כלב בן יפונה ובכבוש המלחמות צוה השם תמיד יהודה יעלה בתחל' וכן בחלוקת הארץ ונחלת' ראשונ' הנחיל לבני יהודה וגם בימי שאול כשפקד העם ללכת להציל את יבש גלעד ויפקדם בבזק ואמר ויהיו בני ישראל שלש מאות אלף ואיש יהודה שלשים אלף כי הנה לא נמנה שבט יהודה בין שאר השבטים מפני מעלתו וכן עשה כשפקד את העם לעלות על עמלק שלא מנה את יהורה בכלל השבטי' אלא הוא בעצמו ושאר השבטים כלם יחד וכל זה מורה על היות לאותו שבט מעלה על אחיו ועל זה ג"כ נאמר לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו שהוא הסופר אשר ישב לרגלי השר או שקרא מחוקק כלל החכמים אשר היו משבטו וגם עם היות ששאול נתמנה מלך תמיד היה השבט והשררה ביהודה בענין השרח והכבוד על שאר השבטים וכאשר ניתן המלכות לדוד ולזרעו נתקיים יותד לא יסור שבט מיהודה וכאשר בחטאת שלמה נחלקו המלכיות עכ"ז נתקיים לא יסור שבט מיהודה כי תמיד נשאר מלכות ליהודה אם מעט ואם הרבה

וגם אחרי שגלה יהודה מעל אדמתו לבבל נתקיים לא יסור שבט מיהודה וזהו שאר"ול אלו הם ראשי גליות שבבבל כי לא היה דעתם שעליהם בלבד היתה הנבואה הוא' אלא שגם הם בכלל לא יסור שבט מיהודה ושג"כ נתקיימה הבטחתו בגליות ההוא ונם בזמן בית שני עם היות החשמונים מולכים ללחום מלחמות יו' תמיד היה בירושלים נגיד מיהודה והוא היה ראש לסנהדרין לקיים מה שנ' לא יסור שבט מיהודה וכמו שכתב יוסף בן גוריון ולזה ג"כ נאמר בדברי רבי משה הדרשן לא יסור שבט מיהודה זו לשכת הנזית שנתנ' בחלקו של יהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו אלו יושבי יעבץ שמורים הוראות בישראל כסנהדרי גדולה היושבת בלשכת המות בחלק יהודה שנ" ומשפחות סופרים יושבי יעבץ וגומר שהנה כיון בזה שגם אלה יוכללו בלא יסור שבט מיהודה ותהיה הכונה ההיא שלא יסור שבט ההנהגה מלשכת הגזית וחנה זה בהיותם בארץ ומחוקק מבין רגליו שנאמר על החכמים שבגלות שלא יסור זה או זה עד כי יבא שילה וכן היה הדבר גם היום בגלות הארוך הזה עד צרפת וגלות ירושלים אשר בספרד אין ספק שהנשיאים והנגידים אשר היו המלכים והקהלות ממנים על בני ישראל היו כלם מזרע בית דוד לקיים לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו כי היה רוב גלותנו אשר במלכיו' ההם משבט יהודה הנה אם כן נתקיימה ההבטחה ההיא בזמן ההצלחה ובזמן הגליות עד היום הזה וכבר זכרו במסכת יומא אמר רבה לא משתכה צורבא מרבנן דמורי או משבט לוי או משבט יששכר מלוף דכתיב יורו משפטיך ליעקב ותורתך לישראל מיששכר דכתיב ומבני יששכר יודעי בינה לעתים' ואימא מיהודה נמי שנאמר ויהודה מחוקקי ועל זה הדרך יפורש ומחוקק מבין רגליו שלא יסורו מהיות חכמים מבני בניו של יהודה

ואמנם אמרו עד כי יבא שילה אחשוב שמלת עד עם היות שפעמים תבא על הגבלה זמנית כמו ומעולם ועד עולם עד אשר אבא אל אדוני שעירה עד שיפוח היום ודומיהם הנה יבא פעמים אחרות לא להגביל זמן אלא להפליג הענין כמו עד כי חדל לספור עד לב השמים כי נגע עד השמי משפטה עד בכור השבי וזולתם הרבח ולפי שאמר הזקן לא יסור שבט מיהודה שהוא יעוד כולל לזמן ההצלחה ולזמן הגליות כמו שפירשתי אמר עד כי יבא שילה ר"ל וכ"כ יתמיד השבט הזה עד שכבר יבא שילה שהוא בנו של יהודה והוא מלך המשיח ולו יקהת עמים ר"ל שיתקבצו העמי' והאומות לעבדו וכמ"ש כי אז אהפוד אל עמים שפה ברורה לקרא כלם בשם יי ולעבדו שכם אחד והיתה ההפלגה הואת שיתמיד היעוד הזה מימי יעקב עד מלך המשיח שהוא באחרית הימים ולזה עצמו כוונו בב"ר לדרוש הפסוק הזה על משיח בן דוד לא שיחשבו שעליו בלבד נאמר אלא שגם "The view which I take : כן הוא נכלל ביעוד הוה: of the prophecy is, that our father, Jacob, says nothing expressly about the kingdom of Judah, as commentators have argued, and, therefore, involved themselves in all the difficulties above mentioned: but affirms all that he does affirm, of the tribe only; to wit, every description of excellency, jurisdiction and supremacy over the rest of his brethren; and this excellency is the thing which, he declares, shall not depart from Judah. This we find him to have possessed long before there was any king reigning in Israel. Judah was superior to his brethren even in the days of Joseph; and for that reason they followed his counsel; witness the cases, And

Judah said, What profit, &c. and his brethren. obeyed. And Judah addressed him, saying, The men solemnly protested, &c. And Judah said to Israel, his father, Send the lad with me, &c. and Israel obeyed his counsel, but did not obey the counsel of Reuben. So, likewise, And Judah said to his brethren: And Judah drew near to him: And he sent Judah before him. Hence it appears, that Judah was always the head of his brethren. In all their encampments, too, the standard of the camp of Judah was placed the first; and, in their marches, moved the first. At the dedication of the altar Nachshon, the son of Aminadab, of the tribe of Judah, offered on the first day. Where the names of the men are mentioned, that were to divide by lot the land unto Israel, together with Eleazar, the priest, and Joshua, the son of Nun; the first mention is of Judah in Caleb, the son of Jephunneh. In their hostile attacks, the Lord commanded always, that Judah should march first. In the division and hereditary possession of the land, the first lot which was cast was for the children of Judah. In the days of Saul, when the people were mustered to go to rescue Jabesh Gilead, and were numbered in Bezek; it is recorded, that the children of Israel were three hundred thousand, and the men of Judah thirty thousand: where we see, that the tribe of Judah was not reckoned along with the other tribes, in consideration of his dignity.

The same thing was observed, when the people were mustered to go up against Amalek; that Judah was not included in the aggregate account of the ten tribes, but reckoned by himself, and the other tribes promiscuously: all which considerations supply ample demonstration of the superior excellency of his tribe above those of his brethreu. In this respect, therefore, it is said, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet, that is, the scribe or secretary, who sits at the feet of the prince; or perhaps by, lawgiver, is meant the whole body of learned men, belonging to his tribe. Moreover, notwithstanding that Saul was accounted king; there was always in Judah the sceptre and supremacy, in consideration of his princely character and glory above the rest of the tribes. But, when once the kingdom was given to David, and to his seed; the prediction, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, was more particularly fulfilled. Nay, when by the sin of Solomon the kingdoms were divided; the prediction, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, was still confirmed, as the kingdom of Judah always continued either more or less: yea, after that Judah was exiled from his native soil to Babylon, the words, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, were still made good. This, indeed, is what our Rabbies of blessed memory intend by saying, Those are the heads of the captivity in Babylon;

for their meaning was not, that this prophecy was spoken of them only; but, that they were included in the general expression of, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah; and, that the promise had been verified even in the captivity itself. Moreover, in the time of the second temple, notwithstanding that the Asmoneans were so far kings as to fight the battles of the Lord; there was ever in Jerusalem a prince of the tribe of Judah, who was the chief of the sanhedrim, so as to establish the prediction, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah; and as we find it recorded in the history of Joseph ben Gorion. To this may be added, by way of agreement, the words of R. Moses Hadharshan; The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, that is, the conclave, which was given in the portion of Judah; nor the lawgiver from between his feet, that is, the inhabitants of Jaabes, who teach the laws in Israel, the great sanhedrin which sits in the conclave in the portion of Judah, as the scripture saith, And the families of the scribes are the dwellers of Jabees, &c. so that we have it here maintained, that those too, were to be included in the general expression of, the sceptre shall not depart from Judah; the sense being, that the sceptre of government should not depart from the conclave: all which is to be understood of them as long as they continued in the holy land. Nor the lawgiver from between his feet; which

is spoken of the sages or learned men in the captivity, who shall not altogether depart till the coming of Shiloh. Indeed, this is actually the case; for at the present day, in the captivity which has extended itself to France, and in the captivity of Jerusalem now in Spain, there can be no doubt, that the princes and leaders who have exercised regal sway, and the churches constituted over the children of Israel, were all of them of the seed of the house of David, so as to establish the prediction, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet; seeing that the greater part of the captivity dispersed amongst the gentile kingdoms are of the tribe of Judah. It is, therefore, perfectly clear, that, whether in a state of prosperity, or in a state of captivity, the promise contained in the prediction, has to this day been literally accomplished. Moreover, in Massecheth Yoma it is recorded, Ribba said, There shall not be wanted learned doctors, either of the tribe of Levi, or of the tribe of Isachar; of Levi, according to the scripture, They shall teach thy judgments to Jacob, and thy law to Israel; of Isachar, according to the scripture, And of the children of Isachar, who know the meaning of the times. The same is to be said of Judah also, according to the scripture, And Judah is my lawgiver. Thus are to be interpreted the words, Nor a lawgiver from between his feet; namely, Vol. II.

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that there shall at no time cease to be learned men of the posterity of Judah. But with respect to the clause, Until Shiloh come; my opinion is, that, though the particle, Ty, until, be sometimes employed to limit the time, as in the instances, From eternity to eternity, Until I come to my lord to Seir, Until the day shall cool, and the like; nevertheless, it is here, as at other times, used not to limit the time, but to express the measure of excess, as in the instances, Until that he ceases to be numbered, Unto the heart of heaven, For her judgment hath reached unto the heavens, Unto the first-born of the captive, and many such like phrases besides. Now, as the patriarch declares, that the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, a promise, as I have explained it, comprehending as well the time of their prosperity as the time of their captivity; he goes on to declare further, Even until Shiloh shall come, meaning, that this tribe shall continue even until the coming of Shiloh, who is the son of Judah, the same with the king Messias. And to to him shall be the gathering of the peoples, that is, the peoples and the nations shall gather themselves together to serve him, according to the passage, For I will then pour out upon the peoples a pure lip, so as all of them to call upon the name of the Lord, and to serve him with one ministry. This, therefore, is the hyperbolical style of the prophecy, that the promise should remain firm from

the days of Jacob even until the king Messias in the latter days: and for this reason it is, that in Bereshith Rabba they have purposed to expound the pasuk of the king Messias, not that they thought it to be spoken of him only, but because he, among other things, is included in the promise." By R. חהו שסמך מיד לא יסור שבט מיהודה ** Abraham Seba אחר שלו ראוי המלכות מצד מדותיו וכן לא יסור שבם מיהודה אחר שיש בשמו שם ה' וכמו שהשם קיים ומלכותו קיימת כן יהיה הוא קיים במלכותו עד כי יבא שילה הוא מלך המשית ורמז גם כן עד כי יבא שילה על מלך המשיח שיבנה בניין בית ד' וישרה ה' שכינתו בישראל בירושלם שיקרא שילה שעולה שמה כענין שילה. על שם ושם העיר מיום ה' שמה ולא יסור השנחתו ושכינתו מישראל מאותו זמן והלאה ולעולם יאמרו ה' שמה וכן רמו עד כי יבא שילה על מלך המשיח ובאותו זמן יהיה ה' אחר ושמו אחד ויאמרו כולם ה' הוא האלהים וכו' וזהו ושם העיר מאותו יום ה' שמה כמו ה' ה' בהפוך אותיות וזהר פוד משיח אלהי יעקב כי מלת משיח עולה כמנין שנ"ח ובו כלול שילה שהוא עולה ה' והשלשה עשר הנשארים הת כנגד אחד שעולח שלשה עשר בענין שכשאנחנו אומרים משיח הוא כמו ה' אחד במספרו מה שאמר ביום "This, too, illus- ההוא יהיה ה' אחד ושמו אחד: trates the declaration, The sceptre shall not depart from Judah; seeing that the kingdom is his due in consideration of his virtues. Moreover, the sceptre shall not depart from Judah; as in his name is the name of Jehovah; and because, as Jehovah is

^{*}Tseror Hammor, fol. 37, col. 2.

eternal, and his kingdom eternal; so shall he be cternal in his kingdom: Until Shiloh come, that is, the king Messias. The words, Until Shiloh come, likewise intimate of the Messias, that he shall build the temple of Jehovah; and Jehovah will cause his Habitation to dwell with Israel in Jerusalem, which will be called Shiloh; as the number of, Its name, is equivalent to that of, Shiloh; according to the text, And the name of the city from today is Jehovah, its name: and his providence and Habitation shall not depart from Israel from that time forward; and they shall say to eternity, Jehovah its name. So again, the words, Until Shiloh come, intimate of the Messias, that at that time there shall be but one Jehovah, and his name one; and all shall say, Jehovah is God, &c. This is the purport of the Scripture, And the name of the city from to-day itself is Jehovah, its name; as it were Shemah, its name, for Hashem, the name, or, Jehovah, by a transposition of the letters. This, too, is the mystery of the phrase, The Messias, the God of Jacob; for the term, Messias, amounts to three hundred and fifty-eight; and in it is included, Shiloh, which amounts to, Hashem, the name, three hundred and forty-five; and, as to the remaining thirteen, that answers to, echad, one, amounting in its letters to thirteen: so that when we say, Messias, it is as though we said, Jehovah one, in his number; and this is the purport of the scripture, At that day there shall be Jehovah one,

and his name one." By R. Joseph Gallus:* יסור שבט מיהודה ומחוקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים בפסוק זה קשה דהרי מצינו שסר שבט מיהודה קודם ביאת שילה אבל נראה לומר שידוע שהתורה נקראת שבט דכתיב עץ חיים היא למחזיקי' בה אמר לא יסור שבט המלכות מיהודה או לוחות התורה שנקראת עץ חיים שהיא תורת המחוקק מבין רגליו ומבין קהילותיו עד כי יבא שילה דהיינו המשיח דיובילו שי לו ולו יקהת עמי' " The sceptre shall: להתגייר כשיראו ביאת המשיח: not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall be the gathering together of the peoples. In this pasuk occurs a difficulty; for, behold, we find, that the sceptre has departed from Judah before the coming of Shiloh. But it may well be argued, that since it is admitted, that the law is called a sceptre, according to the scripture, It is a tree of life unto such as lay hold on it; the meaning of the pasuk is, The sceptre of the kingdom shall not depart from Judah, nor the tablets of the law, which is called the tree of life, and is the law of the legislator, from between his feet, and from amongst his churches, until Shiloh come, that is, the Messias, to whom they shall bring a present; and to him shall be the gathering together of the peoples to become proselytes, as soon as they shall see the coming of the Messias." By R. Menasseh ben Israel:+

^{*} Yad Yoseph, fol. 92, col. 4. Amst. ed. 1690. † Conciliator, Quæst, LXV. p. 92.

Dicere etiam possimus, mentem Patriarchæ fuisse, quamvis decem tribus captivas abducturus esset Assyriorum Rex, in terras nobis incognitas: tribum Jehuda tamen nunquam sublatum iri, hoc est, oblatum ex oculis et commerciis ac notitia hominum: sed semper fore ei legislatores in medio pedum, hoc est, sapientes a quibus doceantur usque ad Messiæ adventum, per quem imperium sit resurrecturum. Hæc si placet sententia, vertes: Non tolletur tribus Juda, nec legislator e medio pedum ejus, donec veniat Silo, et illi congregatio populorum. "The meaning of the patriarch we may also argue to have been, that, although the king of Assyria should lead away captive into foreign lands the ten tribes; yet the tribe of Judah would never be taken off, that is, removed from the sight and intercourse and knowledge of mankind: but that he should always have legislators in the midst of his feet, that is, learned men by whom he should be instructed until the coming of the Messias, by whose means the sovereignty would return to them. If this opinion should take, the pasuk may be rendered: The tribe shall not be taken away from Judah, nor the legislator from the midst of his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall be the gathering together of the peoples." These very grave and highly respectable testimonies, the number of which might have been still further augmented, do certainly authorise us to affirm, that by the great body of Jewish pro-

fessors the prophecy before us is expounded of the Messias: nor do I believe, that there ever was any eminent divine of the Jewish church, not excepting even Aben Ezra himself, who would have denied the propriety of applying it to this personage. Two things it contains of considerable interest, the time of his appearance in the world, which is confined within the duration of the sceptral dominion of Judah; and the gathering of the peoples under his sway and authority, which, whether we expound it of the restoration of all that remain of the twelve tribes under his sovereignty and controul, which is my own interpretation; or of the conversion of all the nations of the earth to his obedience and worship, which is the more general and popular interpretation; is an event of the highest personal importance, and calculated to place him above the level of mortals. Seeing, however, that much of our reasoning will depend on the correctness and accuracy of the translation; and, that the Jewish expositors, partly from the ambiguous signification of some of the terms, and partly from the difficulty of reconciling the plain language of scripture with their present expectation of the Messias, have gone into a variety of explications and opinions; it may not be improper to consider their criticisms, and to demonstrate at length, that the translation here offered is the literal and grammatical sense of the sacred prediction.

To begin with the division of the pasuk. R. Lipman, we see, is for pausing between the particles, עד, and, כי, which, in Hebrew, is as justifiable and as tolerable as if, in Latin, we should propose to rest between, ad, and, usque; and of this the learned Rabbi himself was perfectly aware, only being obliged so say something, he has not hesitated to prostitute his knowledge of grammar to the support of his creed. True it is, that not unfrequently, עד, signifies, for ever; and, כי, because; but never when, as in the text before us, they immediately come together, and in the order here observed. To this must be added, that under, רגליו, his feet, the Masorites have placed the accent, Athnach, which is a pause of equal duration with our colon; thus affording us an infallible sign of the division which we have here followed, having been the received and canonical division of the whole Jewish church. Nay it is equally worthy of remark, that in this way only the three targumists, the fathers in Medrash Rabboth, and all the commentators above cited, not to mention others, have considered and expounded it.

The first term on the import of which any dispute can fairly arise, is, www, Shebet. This, if we may rely on the critical accuracy of R. D. Kimchi, Menasseh ben Israel, and other grammarians, denotes properly a rod or twig; and thence is applied to express a tribe or family, because each of

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these had their respective rods; thence a staff borne by magistrates and such as punish offenders; thence a sceptre or badge of kingly authority; thence a stick or crook with which to direct or guide any thing; and thence, last of all, the pen of a writer, from its similarity with that instrument. In the pasuk before us it must of necessity signify either a tribe, a rod, or a sceptre; which last, by a metonymy common in all languages, may equally signify the person who holds the sceptre. I know of no commentator, except R. Menassela ben Israel, who has actually rendered the term by, tribe; a sense which cannot fail to be disproved on examining the context. The patriarch, in commencing this special benediction of Judah, predicts his supremacy over the rest of his brethren, and the subjugation of all his enemies; to say, therefore, that the sceptre, the badge of supremacy, should not recede from him till the coming of the Messias, was natural and consistent; but not that the tribe should remain with him; which, if it have any meaning at all, must denote, that he should not cease to be a tribe until that event should take place; a prediction no more descriptive of Judah than of Benjamin or of Levi, both which tribes preserved their distinctions during the time of the second temple, and could at any day have been pointed out with as much certainty as Judah. This reasoning will equally hold good, whether we

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read with the author, "The tribe shall not be taken away from Judah," which is a form of construction altogether inadmissible and intolerable in itself; or, "The rod of the tribe shall not be taken away;" seeing that the continuation of the tribular distinction is all that is meant. But besides all this, there is a species of proof deducible from the very style of prophecy, which ought to go far in determining this question. It is a thing generally known, and repeatedly inculcated both by Aben Ezra and David Kimchi, that in the style of prophecy the same thought is wont to be reiterated and enforced; and that not in the very same words, but in terms synonymous and equivalent in sense. The whole of the patriarchal benediction is replete with this prophetic idiom; and in the single pasuk which follows, there are not less than two examples of the repetition of the same sentiment. "Fastening his foal to the vine, and the son of his ass to the grape-tree; he shall wash his raiment in wine, and his garment in the blood of the grapes." Now, if we apply this general principle of interpretation to the pasuk before us, we shall safely determine the sense both of, Shebet, and, Mechokek; for if the latter be known to have in scripture but one meaning, that of lawgiver or legislator, we may rest assured, that the former is rightly translated by, sceptre, or, one holding a sceptre; as though he had intended to say, The sceptre, which is the regal and also legislative authority, shall not depart from Judah till the coming of the Messias. That, sceptre, therefore, is the legitimate rendering of, Shebet, is demonstrable from the preceding considerations; and in this I am supported by all the targumists, in that they have paraphrased it by, kings, and, governors; by the great body of the fathers; by Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Nachmanides, Bechai, Lipman, Alshech, and even Abarbinel himself, who, though he chooses to expound it of the general excellency of the tribe of Judah above the rest of his brethren; yet deduces that sense, not from its being used to denote a tribe or family, but from its reference to the princely authority.

The term, Mechokek, as I have already observed, has but one signification in scripture; that of law-giver or legislator, in its highest and most dignified acceptation: as Jehovah himself is called the Mechokek of Israel; which cannot, surely, without the utmost impiety, be affirmed of him as a mere scribe or expositor of the divine law; but as the author and founder of it. Such expressly is the opinion of R. David Kimchi:* אים מחוקק מבין רגליים מושל בנו כי המושל יקרא מחוקק כמו ומחוקק מבין רגליים "The Lord is our לפי שהוא משים חקים בעם: "The Lord is our לפי שהוא משים חקים בעם: for the ruler is called a Mechokek, as in the text, Nor the Mechokek from between his feet: because he it is

^{*} Com. Isa. xxxiii. 22.

that enacts the statutes amongst the people." For this reason we no where meet with the term in the plural number; not that from its signification it is incapable of having a plural, but because it is never used except in reference to the Jewish people, and to them there could be but one ruler and legislator. The psalmist, likewise, having a regard, as it should seem, to this very prophecy of Jacob, induces Jehovah saying, Judah is my Mechokek: which could never be meant of mere scribes or expositors of the law, for these were of any tribe; but of the kingdom of Judah, which enforced the ordinances and statutes of the law. Thus much I have thought necessary to say in behalf of the common translation of this term, because by a few divines of our own church, whose volatile imaginations often outfly their biblical learning, it has been strangely supposed to mean a staff or wand placed between the feet of a temporal ruler; for which, I dare venture to affirm, there is not a shadow of evidence in any Jewish author whatever.

That the expression, מבין רגליו, from between his fect, denotes, as Bechai and others have taken it, from his loins, there ought to be no manner of doubt; as it is used in the same sense in various other parts of scripture. The rendering of Shiloh by, his son, with the targumists, Jarchi Nachmanides, Bechai, and others, is certainly preferable to any other rendering; for it cannot be analogically

derived from any verb either as a Hebrew or a Chaldee form; but may very well come from the noun, שיל, Shil, the secundines of the birth, which has so near an affinity to, child, in signification, that on one occasion, at least, it is rendered in the English version by, infant young. The term, יקהת, Ikkeath, though by a few understood in the sense of contusion or affliction; is by far the major part of expositors rendered, collection, or gathering together; and especially by Jarchi, who has deduced that signification with great pains, and in strict compliance with all the niceties and subtleties of grammar. In a word, though as a whole my translation of this pasuk has not the concurrence and support of many commentators; yet in each of its parts, taken separately, it has a considerable majority in its favour; and that I conceive to be a proof of its veracity.

That this is a prediction of the appearance of the Messias before the departure of the regal sway from the house of Judah, the words themselves are a plain demonstration; nevertheless, to accommodate the express declaration of the patriarch to the present dismembered state of the Jewish polity, R. Isaac Abarbinel is for paring down the sceptral and legislative authority, here spoken of, to any degree whatever of tribular pre-eminence: and, as this is an elucidation of the text on which many of the modern Jews are likely to lay hold; I have cited it

at full length, in order that its ingenuity and falsehood may equally be exposed. Now, I am very far from undervaluing the arguments of the author in favour of the superior excellence of the tribe of Judah; which, I think, are more than adequate to establish that point: but, that the patriarch is here plainly and exclusively alluding to the regal authority of that tribe, is an opinion to which every sober and dispassionate critic must give his assent; whether we regard the text itself, which will admit of no other solution; or the testimonies of so many learned and eminent expositors, who to a man have expounded the pre-eminence here mentioned of nothing but the supreme power. Nor is it at all probable, that scholars of the first rank and character; and especially Nachmanides, to whom every department of Jewish literature lay spread like a table, would have been so unanimous in understanding it of the kingly authority of the house of Judah, if the notion of Abarbinel could have been successfully maintained. But, admitting the correctness of the assertion, that it was the tribular excellency of Judah which was not to depart till the coming of Shiloh; in what part of the world does that tribe subsist, and how are they to be distinguished from the rest of their countrymen? Supposing, what I am by no means inclined to withhold, that most of the Jews, who were exiled after the destruction of Jerusalem and Bither into these

western parts of christendom, were of the tribe of Judah: and that the two families of David ben David and Abarbinel are even of the seed royal; still it must be equally confessed, that these families are in nothing distinguished from others; and that since the first expulsion of the house of Judah into Italy, Spain, and Portugal, they have all been compelled to remove from these kingdoms time after time: and, though after the fever of persecution there were always some who found their way back again; yet it can by no means be ascertained at this day, whether even any of the Jews there resident are the descendants of those families, who originally came thither after the sacking of their cities. But should we even concede what we believe to be false, that the present Jews of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, are all of them of the tribe of Judah, and even some of them of the family of David; yet it may reasonably be asked, in what do they excel the Jews of France, England, Holland, Germany, Poland, Russia, Tartary, Hindostan, and China? I have been told indeed, that, from the consideration of their lineage being thought more certain, they do not choose to intermarry with those of other nations; but in every thing which constitutes excellence; in numbers, in opulence, in erudition, and in authority, they are in nothing superior to the Jews of other countries. Nor ought it to be alleged, that they have their own synagogues, rituals,

and presiding Rabbies; as these are differences only, and not excellences. Nay the very circumstance, that the service of the German and Polish synagogues is different from that of the Spanish and Portuguese, is a proof of their equality and independence of character. For if it had ever been the tradition of the fathers, that those of the posterity of Judah were more fit and proper to become scribes and doctors of the law than any of their brethren, there would have been vestiges of that tradition; and the presiding Rabbies of that tribe would always have had the preference; the contrary of all which we know to be the fact. The truth is, whatever observable differences there may be between the Jews of one country and another: they have nothing to do with the distinction of their tribes, which they confess to have lost; but are attributable solely to the diversity of the region to which they had separately and originally emigrated. Thus, then, concede what we like to the arguments of Abarbinel; the notion, that the tribular preeminence of Judah was the thing designated in this passage of prophecy, is wholly indefensible; and equally to be reprobated both by Jews and Christians

CHAPTER VIII.

THE next remarkable prediction of the Messias is in the prophecy of Balaam; where the event of his appearance is contemplated at a great distance, and such degrees of dominion and power applied to the subject as can befit no other character of Jewish history than their expected Messias. The prediction is as follows:* אראנו ולא עתה אשורנו ולא קרוב דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל ומחץ פאתי מואב וקרקר כל בני שת: והיה אדום ירשה והיה ירשה שעיר איביו וישראל עשה חיל: וירד מיעקב והאביד "I shall see him, but not now; I shall : שריד מעיר behold him, but not nigh. There shall proceed a star from Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise up from Israel; and he shall smite the corners of Moab, and demolish all the sons of Seth. Edom too shall be a possession; Seir also shall be a possession of his enemies: and Israel shall be powerful. From Jacob likewise there shall be one to rule; and he shall destroy all the remnant of the city." If we except Aben Ezra, there is scarcely any commentator who does not expound this prophecy either solely or in part of the king Messias. But by Aben Ezra it is applied partly to David, and partly to Joab, the captain of his host; though with what propriety a mere general of that king can be re-

* Num. xxiv. 17.

garded as a ruler from Jacob, and a fit subject of prophecy, may be inferred, perhaps, from this circumstance alone, that in his explanation of this part of the prediction not a single expositor of any name has followed his authority.

Besides the opinion of Aben Ezra, there is another which applies it to David and the Messias together. Now, as the cabbalists affirm, that David and the Messias have one and the same soul; it might seem no prejudice to the design of this argument, that it should be thought partly applicable to the character of David, and partly to that of the That it cannot, however, with any Messias. degree of propriety be referred to the age of David, is briefly but ably argued by R. Isaac Abarbinel; and as the reasons there assigned for expounding it exclusively of the Messias will shortly be laid before the reader, I need occupy no time myself in attempting to add to their weight and Indeed, that it is not necessary to authority. apply any part of the prediction to the life of David, is demonstrable from the circumstance, that of those who expound it of both personages, some differ from others in their application of the parts. R. Solomon Jarchi expounds the star from Jacob, and the sceptre from Israel, of king David; but the ruler from Jacob, of the king Messias: whereas Maimonides expounds the star, indeed, of David; but the sceptre, of the Messias, together with many other parts, in opposition to Jarchi. These statements we shall have verified on alleging their testimonies.

That the Messias is really the subject of the prediction, is apparent from the targum of Onkelos: חזיתיה ולא איתוהי קריב כד יקום מלכא מיעקב ויתרבא משיחא מישראל ויקטול רברבי מואב וישלוט בכל בני אנשא: ויהי אדום ירתא ויהי ירתא שעיר לבעלי דבבוהי וישראל יצלח בנכסין: וייחות חד מדבית יעקב ויובד משיזיב מקרית עממיא: "I see him, but not now; I contemplate him, but he is not near: as a king from Jacob shall arise: and the Messias from Israel shall wax great. He shall slay the grandees of Moab; and shall exercise dominion over all mankind. Edom, likewise, shall be a possession, and Seir shall be a possession of his enemies; whilst Israel shall flourish in wealth, There shall also descend one from the house of Jacob, who shall destroy him that escapeth from the city of the Gentiles." From the targum of Jonathan ben Uziel: חמי אנא ליה וליתיה כדון מסתכל אנא ביה וליתיה מקריב כד ימלוך מליך תקיף מדבית יעקב ויתרבי משיחא ושיבט תקיף מישראל ויקטול רברבני מואבאי וירוקן כל בנוי דשית משירייתיה דגוג דעתידין למסדרא סדרי קרבא בישראל וילפון פגריהון כלהון קדמוי: ויהיון אדומאי תריכין ויהון תריכין בני דגבלא מן קדם ישראל סנאהון וישראל יתקפון בנכסין וירתונון: ויקום שליט מדבית יעקב ויוביד וישצי שיזבותא דמשתייר מן קושטינטיני קרתא הייבתא ויצדי ויתרוב

"I see him, : כרכא מרודא וקיסרין תקיף קרוי עממיא but he is not now; I contemplate him, but he is not near: as a powerful king from the house of Jacob shall reign, and a Messias and strong sceptre from Israel shall wax great, and shall kill the grandees of the Moabites, and shall spoil all the sons of Seth, the troops of Gog which shall join battle with Israel; all whose carcases shall fall before him. The Edomites likewise, shall be expelled; and the children of Gabla shall be driven from before Israel, their enemies; whilst Israel shall become powerful in riches, and shall dispossess them. There shall rise up a ruler too from the posterity of Judah, who shall destroy and cut off the escaped remnant of the wicked city, Constantinople; and shall plunder and devastate the rebellious fortress and stately citadel of the cities of the nations." The Jerusalem targumist, too, it is plain, must have understood it of the king Messias: חמי אנא ליה ולית הוא כדון ומסתכל אנא ביה ולית הוא קריבא עתיד למקם מלך מדבית יעקב ופריק ושליט מדבית ישראל ויקטול תקיפי מואבאי וירוקן וישיצי כל בני מדינחא: ויהי פרס ירתי טורא דגבלא לבעלי דבביהון וישראל יתגברון בחיל תקיף: עתיד מלך למיקם מדבית יעקב וישיצי ית כל מה דמשתייר מן כרכא חייבא: "I see him, but he is not now; and I contemplate him, but he is not near. There shall rise up a king from the posterity of Jacob; both a redeemer and a sovereign from the posterity of Israel, who shall

kill the chieftans of the Moabites; and shall spoil, and cut off all the children of the East. Persia. too, which possesseth mount Gabla, shall be for their enemies; and Israel shall prevail with strong force. There shall rise up a king from the house of Jacob; and he shall cut off all that which is left of the sinful fortress." In Medrash Rabboth it is thus applied to him :* בעולם הזה הם משולים בעפר לימות המשיח הם משולים לחול הים מה דרכו של חול מקהה שניו כך ישראל לימות המשיח מכלין כל האומות "In this world they are שנאמר וירד מיעקב וגומר compared with the dust; in the days of the Messias they are compared to the sand of the sea. But what is the common property of sand? It stuns one's teeth. So, in the days of the Messias, Israel shall make an end of all nations, according to the scripture, And there shall be a ruler from Jacob, and so forth." R. Solomon Jarchi, as we have already observed, expounds it of David and the Messias in part †: אראנו רואה אני שבחו של יעקב וגדולתן אך לא עתה היא אלא לאחר זמן: דרך כוכב כתרגומו לשון דרך קשתו שהכוכב עובר כחץ ובלע"ז דישטינט כלומר יקום מזל: וקם שבט מלך רודה ומושל: ומחץ פאתי מואב זה דוד שנאמ' בו השכב אותם ארצה וימד שני חבלים להמית וגומר: וקרקר לשון קירה כמו אני קרתי מקבת בור נוקרתם יקרוהו עורבי נחל פוריר" בלע"ז: כל בני שת כל האומות שכולם יצאו מן שת בנו של אדם הראשון: והיה ירשה שעיר לאויביו ישראל: *Fol. 179, col, 2, + Com. in loc.

ירד מיעקב ועוד יהיה מושל אחד מיעקב: והאביד שריד מעיר מעיר חחשובה אדום והיא רומי ועל מלך המשיח " I see him, ים עד ים בו וירד מים עד ים: I see the glory and greatness of Jacob; only it is not now, but at a future period. There shall proceed a star; according to the targum of the place, the verb, דרך, here signifies, to extend, or, to shoot, as in the phrase, He extended his bow; because a star glides or shoots like an arrow; and in Latin it is expressed by, distendere: the meaning of the text being, that there shall arise a constellation or planet. And there shall arise a sceptre, that is, a king who shall rule and govern. And he shall smite the corners of Moab; this is David, of whom it is said, Leveling them with the ground, even with two lines measured he, to put to death, &c. And he shall demolish; the verb, קרקר, has the sense of, to dig out, as in the texts, I have dug: The hole of the pit from which ye are dug out; The ravens of the valley shall pick it out: in Latin it is, fodere. All the children of Seth: all nations: for all of them have issued from Seth, the son of the first man. And Seir shall be a possession of his enemies, that is, of Israel. And there shall be a ruler from Jacob; moreover, there shall be a certain ruler from Jacob. And he shall destroy the remnant of the city, the celebrated city of Edom, which is Rome. This is the Messias of whom the scripture so speaks, according to what is

said of him in another place, And he shall rule from sea to sea; and there shall be no remains of the house of Esau." Maimonides likewise, expounds it of David and the Messias; but in a manner somewhat extraordinary:* אף בפרשת בלעם נאמר ושם נבא בשני המשיחים במשיח הראשון שהוא דוד שהושיע את ישראל מיד צריהם ובמשיח האחרון שעומד מבניו שמושיע את ישראל מיד בני עשו (באחרונה) ושם הוא אומר אדאנו ולא עתה זה דוד אשורנו ולא קרוב זה מלך המשיח דרך כוכב מיעקב זה דוד וקם שבט מישראל זה מלך המשיח ומחץ פאתי מואב זה דוד וכן הוא אומר ויך את מואב וימדדם בחבל וקרקר כל בני שת זה מלך המשיח שנאמר בו ומשלו מים עד ים והיה אדום ירשה זה דוד שנאמר ותהי אדום לדוד לעבדים ונומר והיה ירשה שעיר אויביו זה מלך המשיח שנאמר ועלו "In the section of Balaam, :'מושיעים בהר ציון וגר' too, he is mentioned; where there is a prediction of the two Messiases; of the former Messias, that is to say, David, who saved Israel from the hand of their enemies; and of the latter Messias, who is to rise up from his posterity, and to save Israel from the hand of the children of Esau. In that prophecy it is said, I shall see him, but not now: this is David: I shall behold him, but not nigh; this is the king Messias. There shall proceed a star from Jacob; this is David: and a sceptre shall arise from Israel; this is the king Messias: and he shall smite the corners of Moab; this is David,

^{*} Hilcoth Melachim, fol. 306, col. 2. Amst. ed. 1702.

and so it is recorded of him, And he smote Moab, and measured them with a line: and he shall demolish all the children of Seth; this is the king Messias, of whom it is said, And his dominion shall extend from sea to sea. Edom, likewise, shall be a possession; this is to be understood of David, according to what is recorded of him, And Edom becume slaves to David, &c. and Seir shall be a possession of his enemies; this is meant of the king Messias, according to the scripture, And saviours shall ascend upon mount Sinai, &c." The above exposition is cited word for word by R. Bechai, and is there called a medrash; but whether Maimonides had actually copied it out from some ancient medrash, or Bechai merely took it from him, and chose to denominate a medrash what the other had been led to consider as the literal sense, I have not been able to ascertain. Certainly, nothing of the sort is to be found in Medrash Rabboth; but there may, perhaps, in Medrash Tanchuma.

The prediction is expounded of the Messias, and that exclusively, by R. Moses Nachmanides: * דרך כוכב מיעקב בעבור כי המשיח יקבץ נדחי ישראל מקצה הארץ ימשילנו לכוכב הדורך ברקיע מקצה השמי כמו שנ' בו וארו עם ענני שמיא כבר אנש אתי וכו' נאמר שהוא רואה לזמן רחוק שידרוך כוכב מקצ' השמי ויקום ממנו שבט מושל ומחץ פאתי מואב וקרקר כל בני שת בן אדם שהוא אבי כל האומו' והזכיר פאתי מואב

^{*} Com. in loc.

להודוע לבלק כי עמו לא יפול ביד ישראל עתה אבל באחרית הימים לא ינצל מואב מידו בשבט המושל בו וטעם פאתי מואב לומ' כי זה השבט יקרקר כל בני שת ולא ינצל מואב מידו אע"פ שהם קצוצי פאה ואין להם שם באומות ולא ילחמו בישראל: והיה אדום ירשה מפלת אדום ביד המשיח תהיה כי גלותינו היום בה רומי לאזיום תחשב וכמו שנ' תם עונך בת ציון לא יוסיף להגלותך פקד עונך בת אדום גלה על חשאתיך גלא יפקוד השם על אדום עד תום עונות ציון בעת שלא יוסיף להגלותם על כן הזכיר בלעם אדום כי הוא החולק על מלכותיו ובו נאמ' ולאום מלאום יאמץ יתנבא כי לא תפול אדום לגמרי עד עת הקץ ביד הכוכב הדורך וטעם והיה ירשה שעיר לאויבין שיהיה ירשה שעיר לאויביו או אויביו הם אדום ושעיר הנוכרים שהם אויבי יעקב ויהיו ירשה ומעם והאביד שריד מעיד מכל עיר שלא ישאיר שריך בשום עיר שבעולם כי מתחלה אמר וקרקר כל בני שת ועתה יאמר שלא יהיה שריד ופלים והנה " There shall proceed : נשלמה העצה שהודיע לבלק a star from Jacob: because that the Messias will collect the outcasts of Israel from the extremity of the earth, the prophet compares him to a star moving from the extremity of the heavens, according to that which is said of him; And, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like the son of man, &c. But he says, he sees at a great distance of time, that there shall proceed a star from the extremity of the heavens; and there shall arise from him a sceptre or ruler, who will smite the corners of Moab, and demolish all the children

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of Seth, the son of Adam, who was the father of all nations. He says, the corners of Moab, to signify to Balak, that his people should not fall by the hand of Israel now; but that in the latter days Moab would not be rescued from their power with the sceptre with which he should rule; designing to express by, the corners of Moab, that this sceptre shall demolish all the sons of Seth, nor shall Moab himself be delivered from his hand, though they dwell in the farthest corners of the desart, and possess no name amongst the nations, nor wage war against Israel. Edom, likewise, shall be a possession: the fall of Edom shall be accomplished by the hand of the Messias; for our exiles are in it at this day, and Rome is to be taken for Edom. So the scripture saith, He hath consummated thy iniquity, O daughter of Zion; he will not again cause thee to march into captivity: He hath visited thy iniquity, O daughter of Edom; he hath made an exposure of thy sins. Nor will Jehovah visit Edom, till there is a consummation of the iniquities of Zion, when he will no longer cause them to go into captivity. For this reason, Balaam mentions Edom; as it is he that divides his kingdoms; and of him it is written, And the one nation shall be stronger than the other nation. He predicts, that Edom shall not wholly fall, till the time of the end by the hand of the proceeding star. But of the words, And Seir shall be a pos-

session to his enemies, the sense is, that Seir shall be the possession of his enemies; or, his enemies; may be understood of Edom and Seir just mentioned, who are the enemies of Jacob; and these shall be a possession. The meaning of the expression, And he shall destroy the remnant of the city, is, of every city; that he will not leave a remnant' in any city of the world: for before he had said, And he shall demolish all the sons of Seth; and now he says, that there shall be none either left, or allowed to escape. Behold, the counsel which he revealed to Balak, is brought to a conclusion." By R. Lipman in like manner:* דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל וג'ו זה מהפכים הנוצרים לפרשו על הנוצרי באמרם שפסוק זה ר"ל שיבא אחד מן השמים כעין כוכב ויהיה מבני בניו של יעקב י זהנה גם פה ניכר שאינם יודעים לשאל כי תשובתו בצדו שנאמ' וקרקר כל בני שת ר"ל כל העולם באו מנה שהוא מבני בניו של את נמצא מבואר שאותו שנאמר עליו נבואה זו יהיה מושל בכל העולם ע"י ניצוח מלחמותיו כמו שנאמ' וקרקר כל בני שת: וכל זה לא היה בהנוצרי ואפי' בבני אמנותו אין זאת י אלא קאי אל מלך המשיח שיתקיים מלכותו לעולם כעין קיום הכוכבים והוא ימלוך בכל העולם שנ' וירד מים אל ים י וזה לא צתקיים בהנוצרי או אפילו בבני אמנותו שמושלים בכל " There shall : העולם כי אפילו אל קברו אינם מושלים proceed a star from Jacob; and a sceptre shall arise from Israel, and so forth. This prophecy

^{*} Com. in lee. p. 70.

the christians wrest by expounding it of Christ; asserting the sense of the pasuk to be, that there shall come one from heaven like a star; and that he shall be of the posterity of Jacob. But here it is manifest, that they know nothing of the question; for the solution of the knot is in the context, where it is said, And he shall demolish all the sons of Seth, meaning, all the world, as descended from Noah, who was of the posterity of Seth: it being very clear, that the person of whom this prophecy is spoken, was to be ruler over all the world by means of his victorious wars, according to what is here said. And he shall demolish all the sons of Seth. Now this is not the case with Christ, nor yet with his followers. Doubtless, it refers to the king Messias, who will establish his kingdom for ever, as permanent as the stars; and will be king over all the world, according to that which is said of him, And he shall exercise dominion from sea to sea. But this is not fulfilled in Christ, nor yet in his followers, that they can be called the rulers of the world; for they have not the rule even of the place where he was buried." So also by R. Isaac Abarbinel, with a refutation of their opinion, who in part apply it to David:* ואמר ולהיותי גלוי עינים אראנו ולא עתה רוצה לומר אראה הדבר הוה אשר אגיד עם היות שאינו עתה במציאות וכן אשורנו ואביט אותו אף על פי שאינו לזמן קרור כי

^{*} Com. in loc.

אם לימים רחוקים ומה שאראה הוא שדרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל ומחץ פאתי מואב וקרקר כל בני שת זתמהתי מרש"י שפירש ומחץ פאתי מואב על דוד המלך עליו השלום שעשה נקמה גדולה במואב ופירש וקרקר כל בני שת על מלך המשיח וכן פירשו הרמב"ם בסוף חבורו הגדול משנה תורה ונתנו אם כן הפסוק הזה לשעורים כ"ש שמזמן בלעם עד דוד לא היו אלא כארבע מאות שנה ואיך יאמר על זה אראני ולא עתה אשורנו ולא קרוב וקראו באחרית הימים והנה למעלה בנבואה השלישית דבר משאול ואנג ומנשיאות ישראל שהיה בימי דוד ולא קראו החרית הימים ולא אמר בו שאר הלשונות שוכר בזה ועוד כי הנה דוד המלך לא קרקר כל בני שת רק נצח את אזיביו סביביו אבל כל זה באמת יאמר על מלך המשיח שדמה אותו לכוכב השני מיי שזהרו וכבודו ומעלת מלכותו ומושלו בעולם כממשלת הכוכב על השפלים ומאשר אמר דרך כוכב מיעקב ולא אמר ביעקב בב"ית נראה לפרש שהמערכה השמימית שהיתה מחייבת ברצון השם גלות על ישראל תסתלק ולא תור' עליו באותו זמן כאותו אופן שהיתה כל זמן הגלו' או שלא תתחייב עוד הוראתה ווהו דרך כוכב מיעקב רוצה לומר הלך ונסתלק' הוראת הכונב מיעקב וקם ובמקום שבזמן הגלות לא יהיה להם מלך ושר שיהיה לו שבט מלכות הנה בימים ההם יקום מעצמו שבט מישור ומלכות מישראל ואותו שבט שיקים מישראל הוא מלך המשיח ימחץ פאתי מואב וכאלו אמר לבלק הנה. עתה לא יגיעך מישראל שום נזק אבל בימים ההם אותו שבם מישור שיקום בתוכם ימחץ כל הפאות שבמואב זהוא רמז לכבוש הכולל שיעשה בכל ארץ מואב ואמר לבלק שיתנחם בזה כי לא תהיה הרעה ההיא על מואב בלבד אבל גם על כל בני שת יקרקר ויהרום ויחרב מלשון

מקרקר קיר ושוע אל ההר ובני שת הם כלל בני אדם שבכל הישוב כי מכל בני אדם הראשון וורעו לא נשאר מהמבול אלא נח ובניו שהיו בני שת וזרעו ויהיה ענין זה היעוד שבבא מלך המשיח יתקיים מ"ש הנביא עיני גבהות אדם שפל ושחרות אנשים ונשגב יי" לבדו ביום ההוא ואמר והיה אדום ירשה רוצה לומר שיתקיים אז מש" עבודיה הנביא זירשו בית יעקב את מורשיהם והיה בית יעקב אש ובית יוסף להבה ובית עשו לקש וירשו הנגב וכמו שאמר ועלו מושיעים בהר ציון לשפוט את הר עשו כן אמר בלעם וירד מיעקב והאביד שריד מעיר ר"ל שהממשלה והשולטנות תהיה לישראל תהיה מיעקב מלשון רדה בקרב אויבך שבארץ אדום וכבר ניבא ישעיהו על זה עצמו אמר כיעיר "He says, :בצורה בדד נוה משולח ונעזב כמדבר having my eyes open, I see it, but not now, that is, I see this thing which I am going to declare, although it be not actually yet; and in like manner I contemplate and behold it, though not immediately, but at a distant period. The object of my future vision is, that there shall proceed a star from Jacob, and there shall arise a sceptre from Israel. which will smite the corners of Moab, and demolish all the sons of Seth. I am much surprised at R. Solomon Jarchi, in that he explains the smiting of the corners of Moab, of king David, peace be upon him, who executed such severe punishment upon Moab; whilst, the demolishing of the sons of Seth, he explains of the king Messias. Maimonides, too, at the close of his great work, the Mishna Thora, explains it in the same manner. They,

therefore, have assigned to the pasuk a limit of about four hundred years; as from the time of Balaam unto David there were only about four hundred years. But how, I would ask, could it be said of him, I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not nigh: not to mention, that he speaks of him, as having to appear in the latter days? In the third preceding prophecy, he speaks of Saul, and Agag, and of the exaltation of Israel in the days of David; but these he does not call the latter days: nor does he make use of any of those terms and expressions which occur in this pasuk. Besides, it is well known, that king David did not demolish all the sons of Seth; on the contrary, he barely conquered his enemies that were round about him. But all this truly is spoken of the king Messias, whom he likens to a star in the heavens; because his splendour, and his glory, the excellency of his kingdom, and his dominion in the world, shall be as the dominion of the star over terrestrial beings. That he declares, there shall proceed a star from, and not, in, Jacob, appears to be, because that the course of the planets, which, with the concurrence of the Deity, had caused Israel to suffer exile, should be withdrawn; and that it should not inculcate any thing to their prejudice at that time in the manner that it had done during the period of their exile; or, that its doctrine should be no longer culpable; and so he says, There shall proceed a star from Jacob,

meaning, that the doctrine of the star shall recede and depart from Jacob. Moreover, in the place where at the time of their exile they shall have neither king nor prince, wielding a royal sceptre; in those days, behold, there shall arise of itself a right sceptre, and a kingdom out of Israel. The sceptre which shall thus arise out of Israel, being the king Messias, shall smite the corners of Moab. It is, as if he had said to Balak, Certainly, for the present, no harm shall befal thee from Israel; but in those days that sceptre of rectitude which will arise in the midst of them, shall smite all the corners in Moab: alluding to that universal subjugation which shall be wrought throughout the whole of the land of Moah. Balak is invited to take consolation in this, that the disaster would not be inflicted upon Moab only, but upon all the sons of Seth. He shall demolish, that is, shall throw down, and devastate; the verb, קרקר, having the same sense here as in the text, Demolishing the wall, and crying to the mountain. The children of Seth must signify generally all mankind that are in the world; for of all the children of Adam and his seed there were none left after the flood except Noah and his sons, who were the children of Seth and his seed. This is the subject of the menace, that, when the king Messias shall come, then shall be established that which is spoken by the prophet; The lofty eyes of man, and the proud looks of

mortals shall be humbled; and the Lord himself shall be exalted in that day. He tells us, moreover, Edom shall be a possession, meaning, that then will be fulfilled what is spoken by the prophet, Obadiah; And the house of Jacob shall possess their possessions: And the house of Jacob shall be a fire, and the house of Joseph a flame, and the house of Esau for stubble : And they shall possess the South; and, according to what is said, Saviours shall come up upon mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau. So, likewise, Balaam says, There shall be a ruler from Jacob, who shall destroy the remnant of the city; meaning, that whatever rule or authority Israel may exercise, shall be from Jacob: the verb, ירדה, he shall rule, having the same import here as in the text, Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies, that are in the land of Edom. Isaiah long ago prophesied of the same thing, saying; Like a forest in a state of devastation, he dwelleth alone, cast out and abandoned like the desart." By R. Moses Alshech, who introduces the mention both of the Messias ben David and the Messias ben Joseph, and that in such a manner as to admit of a doubt, whether he did not take them for one and the same person:* זאמר אשורנו שאינו ראיה, קלה רק ע"י הבטה בעצם שהוא מה שירום מאגג מלכו וכו' ויאכל גוים צריו לא * Torath Moshe, Par. Bal. fol. 34, col. 2, 3.

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קרוב עד יכנע ישראל תחלה ודרך כוכב מיעקב הוא נפילת משיח בן יוסף במלחמה שהוא כזכב מיעקב כי יעקב ויוסף לאחדים יחשבו או אומר מיעקב הוא למה שהשבטים הם שנים עשר כוכבים כמש"זל כנגד יב" מזלות אמד גם שאפרים אינו מהי"ב כי אם נצר משרשי יוסף שהוא הכוכב עם כל זה בבחינת היותו מיעקב כי הוא אמר אפרים ומנשה כראובן ושמעון יהיו לי כוכב יקרא ואח"כ וקם שבט מישראל הוא שבט מיהודה משיח בן דוד ואמר בבן דוד ישראל ולא יעקב הוא כי נפילת בן אפרים הוא לסבול עונות הנקראים בשם יעקב וקימת בן דוד הוא על קיום זכות ישראל ואז אחר כל זה הוא מה שומחץ פאתי מואב ולא תצר צרתם כי לא מואב לבדו יפול כי אם גם כל הגוים וזהו וקרקר כל בני שת כי זה כל העולם שממנו הושתת כאשר נשאד אך נח שהוא משת וצרת הכל נחמה היא בצד מה וש"ת עם כל זה רעת מואב רבה כי הלא עשרה עממין נדר הוא יתברך לאברהם ולא ניתנו לישראל רק שבעה עממין כי השלשה נשארו עמון ומואב ושעיר הוא אדום והלא לאדום על האחוה ישאירו בנחלתו ולמואב ועמון יחריבו לזה אמר אל תחוש כי הלא יהיה אדום ירשה כי לא יחניפו אותו וזה משני טעמים א' כי והיה ירשה שעיר אויביו שהוא מוכרח יפילו ישראל את שעיר כי הלא ישראל ואדום א"א תהיה ממשלה לשניהם כאחד כי אם כשזה נופל זה קם באופן שכדי לקום ישראל הוה צריך להפיל שעיר וו"א והיה ירשה שעיר שהיה אויביו כדי שאחרי כן וישראל עושה חיל שקימת ישראל תלויה במפלחו ואחר כך וירד אותו כוכב שדרך מן יעקב כי יקום אחרי נפלו חהו וירד מיעקב ואז והאביד שריד מעיר חוא שריה לבית עשו כי אמר הנביא יסחבום צעירי הצאן שהם ע"י זרע רחל והוא מו"ל "He saith, יעל פסוק עד אשר אבא אל אדוני שעירה:

I see him; which is not to be understood of a mere sight, but by means of intuition itself; the object being, that there shall rise up a king of his higher than Agag, &c. and he shall consume his enemies, the Gentiles; though the time will not arrive till Israel shall be first humbled, and there shall proceed a star from Jacob, that is, the fall of the Messias ben Joseph in the war, whom he here calls, a star from Jacob; because Jacob and Joseph are considered as one. In other words, it is said, from Jacob, because the tribes are twelve stars or constellations, according to the saying of our fathers of blessed memory; and answer to the twelve signs. It is affirmed, too, that Ephraim was not one of the twelve; but only a shoot from the roots of Joseph, who was a star or constellation. Nevertheless, by reason of his being from Jacob, it is said, Ephraim and Menasseh, like Reuben and Simeon, shall be to me for a star of glory. He subjoins, And a sceptre shall arise from Israel, that is, a sceptre from Judah, the Messias ben David. He says, in speaking of ben David, Israel; and not, Jacob; because the fall of ben Ephraim is for the bearing of the iniquities of those who are called by the name of Jacob; but the rising of ben David is for the establishment of the justification of Israel. Then after all this, it will come to pass, that he shall smite the corners of Moab: nor is it their distress only which shall be accomplished; as not only Moab shall fall, but likewise all the Gentiles; for so it is said, And he shall demolish all the sons of Seth. For all the world have originated from Seth; seeing that there was but Noah left, who sprang from Seth. It is in some measure a general trouble which is predicted; though you may well argue, that the affliction of Moab shall be in the extreme. For the Lord vowed to Abraham ten nations; whereas but seven were given to Israel. There were still left Ammon, Moab, and Seir, that is, Edom. To Edom, in consideration of his affinity, they shall grant permission to remain in his inheritance; but Moab and Ammon they shall lay in ruins. Therefore, he says, Do not be alarmed; as Edom shall certainly be a possession; for they will not contaminate it, and that for two reasons; first, because Seir shall be a possession of his enemies, that is, Israel must of necessity cause Seir to fall; for Israel and Edom cannot possibly both exercise the supremacy together, but when the one falls, the other rises; so that in order for Israel to rise, it is necessary, that Seir should be made to This is the meaning of the words; Seir, which had been his enemy, shall become a possession; consequently, it is afterwards said, Whilst Israel shall be powerful; for the rising of Israel depends upon his fall. Then again the very star which had proceeded from Jacob, shall exercise dominion; for he shall rise again after his fall; this

being the sense of the words, There shall be a ruler from Jacob. Finally, he shall destroy the remnant of the city, that is, the remnant of the house of Esau; as the prophet declares, The least of the flock shall draw them out, that is, the least that are to be found by the seed of Jacob. The same is the declaration of our fathers of blessed memory on the pasuk, Until I come to my Lord to Seir." By R. Abraham Seba:* ולפי שבכאן בישרם על ביאת המשיח והטובות שיבואו להם באחרית הימים וזה הסוד לא נתגלה מעולם כאומרו כי יום נקם בלבי והשם לבדו הוא היודע ועד זה הדבר לזה אמר בכאן ויודע דעת עליון מה שלא אמר בכל שאר הברכות ואמ' אראנו ולא עתה אשורנו ולא קרוב לרמוז שאע"פ שהיה משתבח שהיה יודע דעת עליון שהיה רואה הדבר ולא היה משיגו מכל וכל אע"פ שאני מסתכל ומבים בהשקפה נמרצ' איני מגיע לאותו עת הרמוז אבל אני רואה אותו רחוק וזהו אשורנו ולא קרוב ואז דרך כוכב מיעקב באור גדול ובזוהר עצום וזה רמז על שמו הגדול שיתפרסם בעולם דכתיב ביום ההוא יהיה ה' אחד ויהיה השם שלם ותורת ה' תמימה וזה רמוז במלת כ"ז כ"ב מלא כ"ו הם עשרים וששה כמספר אותיו' יהו"ה לפי שאז יתחברו אותיות השם לעשות נסים ונפלאות בכח השם הגדול ובכח תורתו בענין שיכירו כל העולם כי ה' אמת ותורתו אמת וזה כ"ב כנגד כ"ב אותיות הרמוזות כאומרו בך יברך ישראל בך ארוץ גדוד זהו דרך כ"ו כ"ב מיעקב וקם שבט מישראל שבט לנו חסד לב ומי הם ומחץ פאתי מואב ולא להם לבדם אלא וקרקר כל בני שת ולפי שאדום

^{*} Tseror Hammor, fol. 123, 2.

הוא עקר המלכות חזר להזכירם בפני עצמם ואמד זהיה אדום ירשה וכו' וירד מיעקב רמז בזה כי השם ימשיך ממה שאמר דרך כוכב מיעקב מושיעו רב מכח "He, מעיר: מעיר בן דוד והאביד שרי' מעיר: therefore, accordingly certifies them here of the coming of the Messias; and of the blessings which should redound to them in the latter days. But this is a mystery which has been hidden from eternity; as the scripture saith, For the day of vengeance is in my heart, and it is the Lord only who knoweth it. So far, and no farther, doth the matter transpire. For this cause he says, Who knoweth the knowledge of the Most High; which he does not say in any other of the predictions. He declares, I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; signifying, that though he was happy in knowing the knowledge of the Most High, in that he saw the object without fully apprehending it; although, says he, I contemplate it, and have a good view of it; nevertheless, I do not attain to the time intimated, but see it at a distance; I behold it indeed, but not nigh. Then shall there proceed a star from Jacob with immense light and powerful splendour; this refers to his great name, which shall be proclaimed throughout the world, as it is written, In that day Jehovah shall be one, and the name shall be entire, and the law of the Lord perfect. This, too, is signified by the term, star; which is written

in full. The letters, Caph and Vau, are twenty and six, according to the number of the letters in the name, Jehovah; because at that time the letters of the name shall be united together to work miracles and wonders by virtue of the great name and by virtue of his law; in order that all the world may acknowledge, that Jehovah is truth, and his law truth. But the letters, Caph and Beth, answer to the twenty-two letters denoted in the scripture, By thee shall Israel be blessed; by thee will I put to flight a troop. Such is the sense of, There shall proceed a star from Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise from Israel; a sceptre within a gracious heart. This is what they are. He also shall smite the corners of Moab, and not only them, but shall demolish all the sons of Seth: and because Edom is the root of the kingdom, he goes back to mention them in respect of themselves, saying, Edom likewise shall be a possession, &c. There shall be a ruler from Jacob; by this is intimated, that the Lord, from what he says above, There shall proceed a star from Jacob, shall cause to be drawn from the energy of his name his great saviour, that is, the Messias ben David; and he will destroy the remnant of the city." By R. Menasseh ben Israel: * Similiter quoque Bileam ait. Ito consulam tibi quid populus iste facturus est populo tuo in novissimo seu fine dierum. Et

^{*} De Res. Mort. Lib. III. p. 264.

agens de Messia ait: Videbo eum, et non nunc; intuebor eum, et non prope. Incessit stella ex Jacobo, et surget virga ex Israel, et transfiget angulos Moab, et destruet omnes filios Set. Nota tempus illud vocari ab illo finis dierum: ideo dicit, video illud, et non prope. Deinde cum dicat, destruet filios Set, id est, totius mundi habitatores, ex eo apparet, illud de Messia intelligendum esse. "In like manner Balaam says, Come, I will inform thee what that people shall do to thy people in the latter days. Likewise speaking of the Messias, he says; I shall see him, and not now; I shall behold him, and not near. There shall proceed a star from Jacob, and a sceptre shall arise from Israel; and he shall pierce the corners of Moab, and destroy all the sons of Seth. Observe, this time is called by him, the latter days; therefore he says, I see it, and not near. Then, when he says, He shall destroy the sons of Seth, that is, the inhabitants of the whole world, it thence fairly appears, that this prediction is to be understood of the Messias." That this prophecy of Balaam, therefore, is to be expounded exclusively of the Messias, we have just ground to conclude from the preceding authorities.

The sense of its terms is free from ambiguity, and easy to be defined. The verb, ¬¬¬, darac, when predicated of a star, must signify, to move in a train; or, to extend itself in a straight direction;

just as the context may seem to require, or as the taste of the expositor may lead him to consider it. I have, therefore, rendered it by the verb, to proceed, as giving something general; and so permitting the reader to interpret the figurative language of, a star proceeding from Jacob, in what manner he pleases. The term, שבש, shebet, is unquestionably here used for a sceptre, and that by a metonymy for a person holding a sceptre; which is highly significant of the king Messias. verb, קרקר, karkar, whether with R. Solomon Jarchi we render it by, to dig out; or with most commentators by, to demolish or destroy, evidently signifies something violent; and in this place cannot be more judiciously translated than so, He shall demolish or destroy all the sons of Seth: not that he should actually kill all the children of men, for that were inconsistent with the whole history of the Messias; but that he should beat down or subdue all opposition to his dynasty; the universality of the object being here to be qualified by the circumstances of the context, a mode of expression highly idiomatic in the Hebrew scriptures. R. Bechai, indeed, suggests the possibility of the term, ww, Setk, being put for, haunch, or buttock; so that the children of Seth may mean the foundations or the provinces: but this is an exposition by no means probable, nor has the learned author himself done more than mention it. The remaining

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terms are so clear and manifest of themselves, that they require no elucidation. The whole of the prophecy, as we cannot but perceive, is a vivid description of that unlimited sway which the Messias was to exercise over the human race; and is incapable of being applied to any other character.

CHAPTER IX.

THE second psalm has generally been applied by christian divines to the person of the Messias. Indeed the character here bestowed on the anointed son of Jehovah, as he is divinely designated, can befit no other character: למה רגשו גוים ולאמים יהגו ריק: יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נוסדו יחד על יהוה ועל משיחו: ננתקה את מוסרותימו ונשליכה ממנו עבתימו: יושב בשמים ישחק אדני ילעג למו: אז ידבר אלימו באפר ובחרונו יבהלמו: ואני נסכתי מלכי על ציון הר קוישי: אספרה אל חק יהוה אמר אלי בני אתה אני היום ילרתיך: שאל ממני ואתנה גוים נחלתך ואחזתך אפסי ארץ: תרעם בשבט ברול ככלי יוצר תנפצם: ועתה מלכים השכילו הוסרו שפטי ארץ: עבדו את יהוה ביראה וגילו ברעדה: נשקו בר פן יאנף ותאבדו דרך כי יבער כמעט "Why do the Gentiles ex- אפו אשרי כל חוסי בו: cite a tumult, and the nations vainly roar? The kings of the earth take their stand; and the lords deliberate together against Jehovah, and against

his Messias. Let us break their chains : and let us throw their cords from us. He who sitteth in the heavens, shall laugh; my Lord shall deride them. Then shall he address them in his anger, and confound them in his displeasure. I have anointed my king on Zion, my holy mountain. I will narrate for sure what the Lord hath said unto me: Thou art my son; to-day have I brought thee forth. Ask of me, and I will give the Gentiles for thine inheritance; and the ends of the earth for thy possession. Thou shalt rule them with an iron sceptre; and shalt smash them like a potter's vessel. Now, O ye kings, be prudent; be corrected, O ye judges of the earth. Serve Jehovah with fear: and exult with trembling. Kiss the son, lest he be angry, and ye perish in the way; though his choler should be inflamed but a little. Blessed are all those who place their trust in him." That some extraordinary personage is the subject of this prophetic effusion, is apparent beyond contradiction; the only thing to be considered is, whether any other than the Messias can possibly be intended.

In several of the most celebrated commentators of the Jewish church, there is manifested a strong inclination to apply it to king David; so much so indeed, that, when I first observed such eminent authors as Jarchi, Kimchi, Lipman, and Alshech, decidedly expounding it in that manner; I began to hesitate, whether consistently with the plan of

my work I could proceed to apply it to the person of the Messias. Finding it, however, to have been actually so applied by the general consent of the Jewish fathers, and that more than one expositor had followed their example, I determined to bring it forward; and the rather, because it is highly improbable, that any of those commentators who have applied it to David, would have denied the propriety of applying it to the Messias; and, because some stubborn and irrefragable arguments may be adduced to shew, that neither David nor any other Jewish prince could have answered to the character.

In the first place, though it be confessed, that the Philistines immediately on their hearing of the son of Jesse being proclaimed king over Israel, opposed his dynasty; yet they cannot surely be designated by the general and plural terms of, Gentiles, and, nations; much less can their petty chiefs be understood by, the kings and the lords of the earth. In the Old Testament the term, ארץ, earth, literally signifies always either the land of Israel, or the world at large; but in this place it cannot signify the land of Israel, and therefore must of necessity mean the earth in general; not Philistia, nor any of those petty districts which bordered on the confines of Judea. If we should feel disposed to interpret this confederacy of the kings, of some bold attempt to throw off the Israelitish yoke; that will

derive no support from the records of history: as we no where read, that any of the tributary states endeavoured to recover their independence during the reign of king David. Besides, how can we accommodate to the rule of that prince the gift of the Gentiles as his inheritance, when he merely rendered tributary a few of the neighbouring provinces; or, of the ends of the earth for his possession, when the whole extent of his kingdom, if even thought worthy, would not have been thought large enough, to become a park for the Cæsars. The states over which he exercised any controul, he doubtless kept in awe by the terror of his name; but to comment, that the potentates of the earth were here ordered to take admonition from the spread of his power, and to relinquish their idols for the service of Jehovah, when we know for certain, that the monarchs of the East as well as of the West were equally strangers to him and to his dynasty, would be to make the psalmist speak a language more worthy of the Delphic tripod than of the Habitation of Jehovah. In all these respects, therefore, not to mention others, we see the impertinence of applying this psalm to the son of Jesse; and, as it cannot belong to him, so neither can it belong to any of his posterity who succeeded him upon the throne of Judah; for these, so far from adding to his conquests, in a great measure lost what he had so gallantly won.

That the fathers were unanimous in applying it to the Messias, we have the strongest evidence to produce. The targumist, indeed, is neutral. For, though he has no where alluded to David; yet, as he does not make any express mention of the king Messias; but paraphrases the whole according to the letter, we have no right from his silence to presume, that he understood it of the Messias. In Massecheth Suca there is a well known testimony of its application to the Messias already adduced in a foregoing chapter; and in Massecheth Abodath Elilim, there is another in which it is certainly referred to the times of the Messias.* ביון שרואים מלחמת גוג ומגוג אמרו להם על מי באתם אומרים על ה' ועל משיחו שנא' למה רגשו גוים ולאומים יהגו ריק יתיצבו מלכי ארץ וגו' מיד כל אחד ואחד מנתק מצותו והולד' לו שנאמר ננתקה את מוסרותימו ונו' והקב"ה "As : יושב ומשחק עליהם שנ' יושב בשמים ישחק וגו' soon as they see the warlike preparation of Gog and Magog, they say to them, Against whom do ye come? They answer, Against Jehovah, and against his Messias; according to the scripture, Why do the Gentiles rage, and the nations vainly roar? The kings of the earth take their stand, &c. But Jehovah sitteth, and laugheth at them; according to the scripture, He that sitteth in the heavens, shall laugh, &c." In Bereshith Rabba, there is the same application of it to the Messias, as in

^{*} Een Yaacob, Part II. fol. 153, col. 1.

Massecheth Suca:* אמר רבי יונתן ג' הן שנ' בהם שאל ואלו הן שלמה ואחז ומלך המשיח: שלמה דכתיב בנבעון נראה ה' אל שלמה בחלום הלילה ויאמר אלהים שאל מה אתן לך אחז דכתיב שאל לך אות מעם ה' מלך המשיח דכתיב ביה שאל ממני ואתנה גוים נחלתיך: "R. Jonathan said, There are three persons of whom it is said in scripture, Ask thou; and these are they, Solomon, Ahaz, and the king Messias. Solomon, as it is written, In Gibeah Jehovah appeared unto Solomon in a dream of the night, and God said, Ask what I am to give thee. Ahaz, as it is written, Ask for thyself a sign from Jehovah. The king Messias, as it is written of him, Ask of me, and I will give the Gentiles for thine inheritance." In Medrash Shochar Tob it is expounded of the events that should befal the Jews in their conflicts with Gog and Magog, in the days of the Messias, without any allusion whatever to the reign of David. The whole of the Medrash is too long to be cited entire; but the subsequent extracts will shew of whom it is there understood: † יתיצבו מלכי ארץ ורוזנים נוסדו יחד שבאים על הקב"ה ואומר להם הב"ה אני מנגינתם מתבר אנא להון כד"א אשר מגן צריך בידך לעתיד לבא אומר למלך המשיח מדינה פלניא מרדה בך והוא אומר יבא גובאי זיהריב אותה שנאמר והכה ארץ בשבט פיו וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע כיון שרואי׳ צרתן רבה הן באין ומשתחוים 'למלך המשיח שנאמר אפים ארץ ישתחוו לך: על יי' ועל משיחו משל

לגבור שהיה במדינה וכשהיו הגייסות באות לאותה מדינה היו יראים מאותו גבור ואומרים מה נעשה בואו ונהרוג אותו גבור ואחר כך נזדווג למדינה כך אלו: "The kings of the earth set themselves up, and the lords concert together; who will come against Jehovah, and he will say unto them, I am Jehovah, let them cease from their music; I will crush them, according to the scripture, Who giveth thine enemies into thine hand. In the time to come he will say to the Messias, Such a province hath rebelled against thee; and he will reply, Let the locust come, and devastate it, according to the scripture, He shall smite the earth by the rod of his mouth, and by the breath of his lips shall he destroy the wicked. No sooner will they see their own distress, than they will come, and worship the king Messias, according to the scripture, With their faces to the earth shall they bow down to thee. Against Jehovah and against his Messias: There is a parable of a hero who was in a province; and when the hostile armies entered the province, they were afraid of that hero, and said, What shall we do? Come, let us kill the hero, and then we shall subjugate the province: so these in the text." In the same Medrash:* אספרה אל חק מסופרים הם בחוקה של תורה ובחוקן של נביאים וכתובים בחוקה של תורה בני בכורי ישראל בחוקה של נביאים הנה ישכיל עבדי ירום ונשא מה כתיב בתריה הן עבדי אתמוך בו בכתובים

^{*} Ibid. col. 4.

נאם ה' לאדוני אמר אלי בני אתה וכתוב אחד אומר "I will narrate for a decree: : וארו עם ענני שבוא those things are narrated by a decree of the law; by a decree of the prophets, and of the holy writings. By a decree of the law, My son, my firstborn, Israel. By a decree of the prophets, Behold, my servant shall be prosperous; he shall rise, and be exalted. But what is there written after it? Behold my servant on whom I support myself. In the holy writings, The Lord said unto my lord; He hath said unto me. There is one scripture which saith, Behold with the clouds of heaven." That these scriptures are meant of the Messias, is confirmed by the annotations of R. Isaac bar בכתובים וכו' פי' ג' מקראות אלו מהכתובים "* Samson נאם ה' אמר אלי וגו' וארו וגו' שמסופרים שם בספר דניאל גדולות רבות למשיח בן דוד הזה אשר עליו אמר " In the holy writings, &c. the כאן בני אתה: sense is, that those three texts out of the holy writings, The Lord said, He hath said unto me, &c. Behold, &c. which are there related in the book of Daniel, are magnificent commemorations of the Messias ben David, the very same of whom it is here said, Thou art my son." So again in the same Medrash: + כך אמר הקב"ה למשיח תרועם " In like manner the Lord saith :בשבט ברזל וגומר: to the Messias, Thou shalt bruise them with an iron sceptre, &c." So in Medrash Samuel:

אימרין למלד המשיח איכן את מבקש לדור אמ' אף דא "They say to the צריכא שיאילה על ציון הר קדשי: און הר קדשי צריכא שיאילה על ציון הר קדשי: king Messias, Where dost thou seek to dwell? He says, Is it a necessary question? Upon Zion, my holy mountain." These several authorities are sufficient to shew, that with the ancient fathers this psalm was expounded exclusively of the Messias.

In support of their testimonies I shall add the comment of Aben Ezra; who, though he explains it of David and of the Messias equally; yet in certain places candidly confesses, that the text is much better elucidated when expounded of the Messias, than when expounded of king David :* הנכון בעיני כי זה המזמור חברו אחד מהמשוררים על דוד ביום המשחו על כן כתוב אני היום ילדתיך או על המשיח ורגשו כמו חברו וכמוהו מרגשת פועלי און ולמ"ד "It seems to יאמץ: ולאם מלאו' יאמץ: me most probable, that this psalm was composed by one of the singers on David, on the day on which he was anointed; therefore it is written, I have this day brought thee forth; or else it is meant of the Messias; and the verb, רגשר, they rage, is as it were, חברו, they confederate; the like to which appears in the text, From the confederacy of the workers of iniquity. The Lamed also in, לאומים, is radical; as in the text, And the one nation shall be stronger than the other nation." To Aben Ezra may be subjoined Menasseh ben Israel, who

^{*} Com. in loc.

has expounded the whole of the psalm of nothing else than of the Messias and of his exploits:* David Psalmo secundo meminit belli hujus, cum ait: Omnes gentes, et nationes congregabunt se adversus Deum et Messiam, ad excutiendum ejus jugum: Nempe quando Messias omnes gentes in potestatem suam redegerit, tum rebelles tumultuabuntur, et bello aggredientur Hierosolyma, caque obsidione undique cingent. At Dominus, inquit David, ridebit illos, et perturbabit rebelles æstu iræ suæ, ob regem suum Messiam: qui enarrabit decretum Domini, quo videlicet ipsum in filium sibi eligit, eique dedit possidendes populos omnes quos confringet virga ferrea. Hac de causa monet prudentiores ex populo, quique non loquuntur inane, ut submittant se Deo, eumque cum reverentia, ac tremore colant, et filii sui Davidis manus osculantur, et agnoscant eum protectorem ac defensorem suum esse, seu electum (nam vocabulum, כר, ita etiam reddi potest) ne cum cæteris pereant. "David in the second psalm makes mention of this war, when he says, All the Gentiles and the nations shall gather themselves together against God and the Messias, to shake off his yoke; namely, when the Messias shall have reduced all the Gentiles under his controul, then the rebels shall excite a tumult, and fall upon Jerusalem in war, and surround it on all sides by a siege. But the Lord, says David,

* De Res. Mort. Lib. III. p. 293.

shall laugh at them, and confound the rebels by the fury of his anger in behalf of his king Messias; who shall declare the decree of the Lord, whereby he chooses him for his son, and gives him to possess all the Gentiles or nations whom he shall bruise with a rod of iron. For this reason he advises the more prudent of the people, and who do not indulge in vain speech, that they should submit themselves to God, should worship him with awe and trembling, should kiss the hands of his son David, and acknowledge him to be their protector and defender, or chosen one, for so the term, 72, may be rendered; lest they should perish with the rest." In addition to the testimonies above cited, I might further allege those of R. Joseph Gallus and R. Moses Alpalasi; but as these darushists have merely quoted the tradition of R. Jonathan and the fathers, for the purpose of building an argument upon it, and not for the elucidation of the psalm, I shall omit transcribing them. Indeed both Jarchi and Kimchi, though disposed themselves to expound it exclusively of David; yet expressly inform us, that with others it was applied to the Messias.

The language of the prophecy in some parts is a little undefined, and capable of various constructions; but it cannot be translated otherwise than it is, in any very material or important point. The words, אספרה אל חק והוה אמר אלי, are of very

doubtful rendering and punctuation; for we may read and stop, either, I will narrate for a decree what the Lord hath said unto me; or, I will narrate it for a decree, The Lord hath said unto me; or, I will narrate it for a decree of Jehovah, He hath said unto me; and, accordingly, the commentators have followed some the one and some the other of these ways: nor is it of any real importance, which of them should be preferred. The verb, ילדתיך, though capable of being rendered by, I have begotten thee; yet; as it is employed metaphorically, and has evident reference to the actual birth, production, or manifestation of the son, and not to his conception in the womb of the parent; I have translated it agreeably to its common acceptation in Kal, I have brought thee forth. The expression, נשקו בר, I am fully persuaded with Aben Ezra, ought to be translated, Kiss the son; for no other mode of grammatical analysis will be found compatible with the Hebrew idiom. Thus writes that learned commentator: נשקו בר הנה עבדו את יי' כנגד על יי' ונשקו בר כנגד על משיחו והנה פירוש בר כמו מה ברי ומה בר בטני וכן כתוב " Kiss the son: behold, Serve ye בני אתה: Jehovah, is by way of antithesis to, Against Jehovah; and, Kiss ye the son, by way of antithesis to, Against his Messias. Observe too, the term. son, is taken as in the text, What, my son; and what, the son of my womb: so is it written

here, Thou art my son." The use of the term, bar, for, son, in the book of Proverbs, is ample authority for explaining it so here: nor is it unworthy of remark, that, as in the Proverbs, so in this psalm, it is used for that which is brought forth; and not for that which is begotten. The words, Lest he should be angry, are not necessarily to be applied to the son; but rather refer to Jehovah, the father of that son: for to contend, that they must of necessity refer to the son, merely because it happens to be the proximate antecedent, would be to adopt an argument of no weight at all with those who have attended to the genius of the Hebrew language. To interpret this last pasuk of the Messias, in whom the world should become happy by placing their trust, might make much for the divinity of his character; but since that in my opinion is not the real, and certainly not the necessary sense of the scripture, I should scorn to depend upon evidence of so frail and dubious a complexion. The chief features of the prediction are the decree of Jehovah to make the Messias his son, to invest him with universal dominion, and so to work upon the powers of the earth, that in the end they shall be completely awed into subjection and allegiance. The hill of Zion, too, in this as well as in other scriptures, is the place appointed for the seat of his throne.

CHAPTER X.

THE forty-fifth psalm is a most magnificent display of the glorious attributes and perfections of the king Messias; and has usually been esteemed as such both by Jews and Christians: רחש לבי : דבר טוב אמר אני מעשי למלך לשוני עט סופר מהיר יפיפית מבני אדם הוצק חן בשפתותיך על כן ברכך אלהים לעולם: חגור חרבך על ירך גבור הודך והדרך: והדרך צלח רכב על דבר אמת וענוה צדק ותורך נוראות ימינד: חציד שנונים עמים תחתיד יפלו בלב אויבי המלד: כסאד אלהים עולם ועד שבט מישר שבט מלכותך: אהבת צדק ותשנא רשע על כן משחך אלהים אלהיך שמן ששון מחבריך: מר ואהלות קציעות כל בגדתיך מן היכלי שן מני שמחוד: בנות מלכים ביקרותיך נצבה שגל לימינך בכתם אופיר: שמעי בת וראי והטי אזנך ושכחי עמך ובית אביך: ויתאו המלך יפיך כי הוא אדניך והשתחוי לו: ובת צר במנחה פניך יהלו עשירי עם: כל כבודה בת מלך פנימה ממשבצות זהב לבושה: לרקמות תובל למלך בתולות אחריה רעותיה מובאות לד: תובלנה בשמחת וגיל תבאינה בהיכל מלך: תחת אבתיך יהיו בניך תשיתמו לשרים בכל הארץ: אזכירה שמך בכל דר ודר יי My heart hath : על כן עמים יהודוך לעלם ועד indited a good matter; I rehearse my works of a king; my tongue is the pen of a ready scribe. Thou art the fairest of the children of "men, grace is diffused over thy lips; therefore God blesseth thee for ever. Gird on thy sword

upon thy thigh, thou hero; with thine honour and thy majesty. In thy majesty prosperously ride upon the word of truth, and the gentleness of righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee formidable things. Thine arrows are whetted whereby the peoples shall fall under thee, in the heart of the king's enemies. Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore, God, thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows. Myrrh and aloes with casia are all thy garments, out of the ivory palaces from which they have made thee glad. The daughters of kings are amongst thy honourable women; the queen standeth on thy right in gold of Ophir. Hear, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear; and forget thy people, and the house of thy father. So shall the king covet thy beauty; for he is thy lord, and therefore worship thou him. The daughter of Tyre shall appear with a present; the opulent among the people shall intreat thee. The king's daughter is all inwardly glorious; her attire is of beazels of gold. In raiment of needle-work shall she be brought to the king; the virgins, her companions after her, shall be brought unto thee. They shall be brought with rejoicings; and with exultation shall they enter the king's palace. Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have sons; them

shalt thou constitute princes throughout all the earth. I will cause thy name to be mentioned in every age; therefore shall the peoples extol thee for ever." If we except, perhaps, the application of this psalm by some to Solomon; there is no probable nor adequate subject of its praises, besides the Messias. In the Medrash Rabboth, indeed, some parts of it are curiously expounded of Abraham; but that is only by way of accommodation, and was never intended to supersede the literal interpretation. The opinion of Jarchi and Alshech, that it is composed in honour of the Mosaic school, or of the students of the law; who for their dignity and excellence are somewhere compared to kings, has nothing to support it. The subject of the psalm is not a body of men considered in the aggregate, nor yet an individual assimilated to a king; but some single person who is actually and literally a king; for so we are informed in the very opening of the prophecy. Besides, whatever facilities of interpretation the subject of a Mosaic disciple may seem to afford above others; these are all equally secured by applying it to the Messias, whose office it is not only to cultivate, but to perfect the knowledge of the law. That neither David nor Solomon can be the king here spoken of, is apparent from this circumstance only; that to neither of them did the Tyrians ever make supplication with presents; and still less did either of them

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constitute his sons princes in the earth, as we have it clearly affirmed of the subject of this psalm. Indeed that it is wholly applicable to none, except the Messias, must at once be allowed by every candid and intelligent reader; and in support of that interpretation there is a fair preponderance of testimony.

First of all, it is so expounded by the targumist: בעא לבי ממלל טב אימר אני עובדי למלכא ממלל לישני מוחי היך קולמוס ספרא רגיל: שופרך מלכא משיחא עדיף מבני נשא אתיהיב רוח נבואה בספותד מטול כן ברכנד יי לעלמא: זרז סיפך על ירכך גברא למקטל מלכין עם שלטונין הודך ושיבהורך: ושבהורך סגי בגין כן תצלח למרכב על סוסי מלכותא על עסק הימנותא וקשוט : זענותנותא וצדקתא וילפנך יי למעבד דחילן ביד ימינך גררך שליפין למקטל אוכלוסין עממין תחותך יפלון ובני קשתך ישתלחון בלב סנאי מלכא: כורסי יקרך יי קים לעלמי עלמין חטרא תרצתא חוטרא דמלכותך: מטול די רחמתא צדקתא וסניתא רשעא מטול היכנא רביך וי אלהך משחא דחדוא יתיר מן חברך: מירא דכיא ואקסיל אלואין וקציעתא מתגמרין כל לבושיך מן היכליא דמכבשין בשין דפיל מארע מני יחדונד: פלכי מלכותא אתין למקבל אפך וליקרותך בזמן דמעתר ספר אוריתא בסטר ימינך ומתכתבא באובריזין דמן אופיר: שמעי כנשתא דישראל אורית פומיה וחמי פרישת עובדוי ותצלי אודנך לפתגמי אוריתא ותתנשי עובדין בישין דרשיעי עמיך ובית טעות דפלחת בית אבויך: ובכן ירגג מלכא שופרך ארום הוא רבוניך ותסגדין ליה: ויתבי פרכא דצור בתקרובתא ייתון ואפיך ישחרון לבית מקדשיך עתירי עממיא: כל שפר ארג

נכסי פלכי אוצרי מלכיא דמטמרן מלגיו יקרבון לכהניא דמרמצין בדהבא סנינא לבושיהון: בלבושי ציורין יקרבון קורבניהון קדם מלכא דעלמא ושאר חבריהון די מתבדרין ביני עממיא יתיתין בחדוא לותיך לירושלם: יתיתין בחדון ותושבחתא ויעלון בהיכלא דמלך עלמין: באתר אבהתך יהוין צדיקיא בנך תמננון לרברביא בכל ארעא: בעדנא ההיא תימרון נדכר שמך בכל דר ודר מטול היכנא עמיא דמתגירין ויהודון שמך לעלם ולעלמי עלמין: "My heart is in quest of fine speech, I utter my works of a king; the speech of my tongue is rapid, like the pen of a swift scribe. Thy beauty, O king Messias, is more excellent than that of men; the spirit of prophecy is given by thy lips; therefore Jehovah blesseth thee for ever. Arm thee with thy sword upon thy thigh, O hero, to slay kings with rulers; with thine honour and thy majesty. Thy majesty is aggrandized; wherefore thou shalt prosperously ride upon the steeds of the kingdom on account of faith, and truth, and humility, and righteousness: and Jehovah shall teach thee, how with thy right hand to achieve dreadful exploits. Thy darts are drawn out to kill the multitudes; the peoples under thee shall fall; and the sons of thy bow shall be sent, into the heart of the king's enemies. The throne of thy glory, O Jehovah, abideth for ever and ever; the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Because thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore Jehovah.

thy God, hath aggrandized thee with the oil of joy above thy fellows. Pure myrrh, wood of aloes, and casia are the smell of all thy garments; out of the palaces covered with ivory, from the country from which they have made thee glad. The provinces of the kingdoms shall come to intreat thy face, and to do thee honour; whilst there shall appear by thy right side a copy of the law, richly adorned and written in letters of gold from Ophir. Hear, O church of Israel, the law of his mouth, and see the excellency of his works, and intreat thy Lord, according to the words of the law; and forget the iniquitous deeds of the wicked of thy peoples, and the house of idols which thou didst worship, the house of thy fathers. So shall the king covet thy beauty; for he is thy lord, and thou shalt worship him. The inhabitants of strong Tyre shall come with an offering; and the rich among the peoples shall anxiously seek thy face in thy sanctuaries. The storehouse of the rich provinces of kings is beautiful; what is there laid up, they shall bring out to the priests; whose robes are interwoven with pure gold. In figured garments shall they bring their presents before the king of the world; and the rest of their fellows that are dispersed among the peoples, shall be brought unto thee with joy to Jerusalem. With joy and praise shall they be brought; and shall ascend into the temple of the king of ages. In place of thy fathers

there shall be thy righteous sons; whom thou shalt constitute princes in all the earth. At that time ye shall say, We will cause thy name to be remembered in every age; therefore the peoples that are become proselytes, shall also laud thy name for ever and ever." By Aben Ezra, chiefly; though he also admits of its being applied to David:* אוה המומור נאמר על דוד או על המשיח בנו שכן שמו ודוד עבדי נשיא להם "This psalm is spoken of David; or of his ; לעולם: son, the Messias; who is so named, according to the scripture; And my servant, David, shall be their prince for ever." By R. David Kimchi, and that exclusively of the Messias : לוה המומור נאמר על המלך המשיח ונקרא שיר ידידות כי בו אהבת ה' "This psalm is spoken of the king Mes- : למשיחו sias; and it is called a song of loves, because in it is set forth the love of Jehovah towards his Messias." By R. Abraham Seba: † ולכן שאלה ממנו אות אמת וזהו חותמך כי חותמו של הב"ה אמת והוא היה חותמו של מלך כמוזכר במזמו' המלך שהוא מזמור טוב מאד על מלך המשיח כמעט כלול מכל המזמורים ולכן יש בתחלתו רמז לרוב השירים יש מהם שמתחילים לבני קרח או למנצח או משכיל או שיר ולכן התחיל בכאן בכולן למנצח על שושנים וזהו שיר ידידות שהוא מיוסד על דוד "Therefore she : 'ה ידיד ה' שהוא ידיד ה' demanded of him the signet of truth, that is, to use her own words, thy signet; for the signet of Jehovah is truth; and that was the signet of a king, as *Com. in loc. †Com. in loc. ‡Tseror Hammor, fol. 49, col 2, 3,

it is recorded in the psalm of the king; which is an exceedingly fine psalm concerning the king Messias, made up in a manner from all the psalms; and for that reason in the beginning of it there is allusion to most of the odes; several of which at their head have, To the sons of Korah, or, To the chief musician, or, An instruction, or, An ode; for which cause it is headed by them all, To the chief musician upon the Shoshannim: and this is the import of, A song of loves; that it is bottomed upon David, Solomon, and the king Messias, who is the beloved of Jehovah." Finally, in a Jewish edition of the psalms, printed by Proops of Amsterdam in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-seven; it is thus directed to be applied to the king Messias: המשורר אמר שיר זה על מלך המשיח ומספר מעלתו ומדותיו וכבודו ועשרו וממשלתו וישראל מצפים וזוכרים "The : משיח בכל דור ודור מתי יבא מלד המשיח singer hath composed this ode of the king Messias; and herein recounts his excellency, and his attributes, his glory, his riches, and his dominion. So Israel are expecting, calling to mind, and saying in every age; When will the king Messias appear?" Besides the above, there are doubtless more testimonies to be found of a similar complexion; but these being all that I have now by me, I must content myself with their special authority for applying it to the Messias.

That the language of this psalm is highly figu-

rative, and in several places has an allegorical signification, is apparent from the version of the paraphrast. Nay R. David Kimchi, though he constantly adheres to the literal meaning, so far as it can be done; is yet of opinion, that its concluding part may most properly be explained in a figurative sense, and be referred to the conversion of the Gentile church :* ויש לפרש כל הפסוקים האלה דרך משל והוא הנכון ובנות מלכים הם האומות שהיו כולם סרים למשמעת מלך המשיח: המלכה היא כנשת ישראל: ואמר שמעי בת לכל אומה ואומה שלא יעשו אלא רצון המלך המשיח: ומשל הבתולות כי כמו הבתולות שלא ידע אותן איש עד שתבאנה אל הבעל כן תיהיינה האומות בלי דת כאלו לא ידעו תורה כשיקבלו עליהם דת ישראל: תחת לפי שהמלכות תבא למלך המשיח מן דוד דור אחר דור וכן לא תפסוק ממנו לפיכך אמר תחת אבותיך "But we may interpret all these verses : יהיו בניך figuratively, and that with propriety. The, daughters of kings, are the Gentile nations, which shall be converted to the allegiance of the king Messias. The, queen, is the church of Israel. The words, Hear, O daughter, refer to each of the Gentile nations singly; which are invited to do nothing but the pleasure of the king Messias. The term, virgins, is to be taken figuratively; for as virgins have no knowledge of man till they come to their husbands; so the Gentiles without the law will be as though they had not known the law, when they

^{*} Com. in loc.

shall take upon them the law of Israel. Instead of: because the kingdom shall come to the king Messias from David age after age, and so shall never depart from him; therefore he says, Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have sons." But besides the allegorical signification of certain parts, there are some questions which arise in respect of the grammatical construction. The phrase, על דבר אמת, may be rendered, Because of truth, and by many is so understood; but I am rather inclined after the verb, רכב, to ride, to let the preposition, על, retain its common acceptation of, upon; and so to construe the whole as though the chariot of the Messias were righteousness and truth; a bold instance of prophetic imagery, but by no means at variance with the rest of the psalm. So Kimchi:* לא תהיה מרכבתך בגאוה ובגודל לבב אבל בדבר אמת וענוה "Thy chariot shall not be with pride and :צדק: loftiness of spirit; but with the word of truth and humility of righteousness." The sixth verse is so worded and connected as to leave it doubtful; whether the Messias be not actually invoked by the title of God. Certainly, in the prophetic writings, nothing is more frequent than an abrupt change of person; so that sometimes we are under the necessity of referring to Jehovah what, were we to follow the plain course of grammar, we should seem authorised to refer to the main subject of the

^{*} Com. in loc.

speech. To the place before us, indeed, that principle of interpretation does but ill apply; because in every other part of the psalm the Messias is the person addressed: and here, in particular, the substitution of Jehovah for the Messias, the person invoked both before and after, would appear awkward and unnatural. Nevertheless, though I see myself no reason, why the Messias should not be called God in the very highest acceptation of the term; yet it is possible enough, that the God here invoked may have been meant of the Supreme Being; and not at all of the Messias, the hero of the psalm. The paraphrast, we see, translates, Elohim, by, Jehovah; which, if to be understood of the Messias, would be honouring him with the most sacred appellation of Deity: but, that this was his intention, is highly problematical; if not altogether improbable. Jarchi, who expounds the whole of the psalm of the talmudic school, is for paring down the import of, Elohim, to that of, a prince, or judge, as it is used in other parts of scripture; which, if it were the true rendering, would do away with the necessity for supposing a change of person. The opinion of Aben Ezra is, that the invocation is to the Messias; but that before, Elohim, there is an ellipsis of the term, throne; as though the sense were, Thy throne is is that of God. The suggestion is highly ingenious, and worthy of a good critic; but, as I no

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where remember having seen a similar ellipsis, I am unwilling to assent to it. Still less do I agree with Gaon and Kimchi, that there is a verb understood; as if the psalmist had designed to say, Thy throne shall God establish: for, if that had been the sense intended; the idea would have been thought too remote to be left to be supplied by the understanding of the reader. To me the fairest course appears to be, either to consider the Messias as the God here invoked, and that in the highest acceptation of the term, God; or else to introduce a change of person for the sake of this pasuk only: but which of these two ways is the true one, I cannot take upon me to say; and, therefore, I shall not urge this text as an argument for the divinity of the Messias. The fragrant garments of myrrh and aloes, Kimchi is of opinion, might well enough be expounded of his good works; but I think they may as well be taken literally, and expounded of the garments or robes of his priests. In considering all that which is said of the queen, and of the daughters of kings, as an allegorical representation of the conversion of the Gentiles to the Israelitish church, I certainly agree with the paraphrast, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and others; nor am I disposed to differ from the last-named expositor in regarding the queen as the representative of the Jewish church only, and the daughter or daughters as the converts from Gentilism. That the final address

is to the Messias, as Kimchi has interpreted it, I readily grant. Thus elucidated and defined, the psalm, to say the least we can of it, is a most splendid prediction of the king Messias; in which are set forth, if not the divinity of his essence; at least the graces of his person, the attributes of his government, the perpetuity of his throne, the universality of his church, and the eternity of his praises.

CHAPTER XI.

THE seventy-second psalm is likewise a prediction of the king Messias: לשלמה אלהים משפטיך למלד תן וצדקתד לבן מלך: ידין עמד בצדק וענייך במשפט: ישאו הרים שלום לעם וגבעות בצדקה: ישפט עניי עם יושיע לבני אביון וידכא עושק: ייראוך עם שמש ולפני ירח דור דורים: ירד כמטר על גז כרביבים זרזיף ארץ: יפרח בימיו צדיק ורב שלום עד בלי ירח: וירד מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ: לפניו יכרעו ציים ואיביו עפר ילחכו: מלכי תרשיש ואיים מנחה ישיבו מלכי שבא וסבא אשכר יקריבו: וישתחוו לו כל מלכים כל גוים יעבדוהו: כי יציל אביון משוע ועני ואין עזר לו: יחס על דל ואביון ונפשות אביונים יושיע: מתוך ומחמס יגאל נפשרם וייקר דמם בעיניו: ויחי ויתן לו מזהב שבא ויתפלל בעדו תמיד כל היום יברכנהו: יהי פסת בר בארץ בראש הרים ירעש כלבנון פריו ויציצו מעיר כעשב הארץ: יהי שמו לעולם לפני שמש ינון שמו ויתברכו בו

כל גוים יאשרהו: ברוך יהוה אלהים אלהי ישראל עשה נפלאות לבדו: וברוך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את כל הארץ אמן ואמן: כלו תפלות דוד בן ישי: "Solomon's. Give thy judgments, O God, to a king; and thy righteousness to a king's son. He shall judge the people righteously; and thy poor with equity. The mountains shall bear peace to the people; and the hills shall act righteously. He shall judge the poor of the people; he shall save the children of the needy; and shall crush the oppressor. They shall fear thee with the sun; year before the moon, for ages. He shall descend like rain upon the cropt grass; like showers shall he water the earth. In his days shall the righteous flourish; and there shall be an abundance of peace till the moon be no more. He shall rule from sea to sea; and from the river to the ends of the earth. Before him the barbarians shall crouch; his enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish, and of the isles, shall return a present; the kings of Sheba, and of Seba, shall offer a gift. Yea all kings shall worship him; all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the needy that crieth; the poor, and the helpless. He shall spare the indigent and the needy; and shall save the souls of the poor. From danger and from violence shall he redeem their soul; and their blood shall be precious in his eyes. He shall live, and shall give him of the gold of Sheba; and shall constantly make prayer in his

behalf; all the day long shall he bless him. There shall be a piece of corn in the earth; on the top of the mountains shall its fruit shake like Lebanon: and they of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth. His name shall be for ever; before the sun shall his name be propagated; and they shall be blessed in him; all the nations shall pronounce him happy. Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel, who alone doeth marvellous things. Blessed also be his glorious name for ever; and let all the earth be filled with his glory, amen, and amen." That the subject of this psalm is the Messias, is the opinion of most; but by some it has been applied to Solomon. The chief reasons for this latter interpretation are the expressions which occur at the head and the end of the psalm. In the beginning we have, Solomon, with the prefix, Lamed, before it; which some understanding in the sense of, for, or, concerning Solomon, infer, that the psalm itself was made for Solomon; and, that he alone is the personage described. To this they add the clause, Here end the prayers of David, the son of Jesse; which assigning the composition of the psalm to David, as the author, seems to allow of no other meaning to the title at the head, than that Solomon was the subject of it. These reasons, however, are by no means so conclusive as at the first sight they may seem to appear. The words, Here end the prayers of David, the son of

Jesse, refer not to this psalm in particular; but to the whole collection of the psalms of David, generally so called, whether of his own composition or not; and appear to have been added by some later hand. But with respect to the expression, לשלמה, of Solomon; that doubtless is of the same complexion with, לדוד, of David, the usual form in which every psalm of David is declared to have been written by him; and that Solomon was anciently supposed to have been the author of this psalm, is apparent from the version of the targumist. Moreover, the contents of the prophecy accord not with the character of Solomon. He never ruled from sea to sea; nor from the river to the ends of the earth. His enemies never licked the dust; because he was engaged in no wars. The kings of Tarshish and of the isles brought him no present; nor did all kings fall down before him, or all nations serve him. Prayers have not always been made on his account; nor have all peoples consented to pronounce him blessed. If his name has been celebrated throughout the world for wisdom and knowledge; that is to be ascribed to the spread of Christianity, which has given to the sacred characters of the Old Testament an extension of fame which they would not have acquired by any other means. Moved by these and such like considerations, there is scarcely any expositor of eminence besides Jarchi, who has applied it solely to Solomon; but all seem

inclined to expound it either of the Messias alone, or of Solomon and the Messias together.

The paraphrast confines it entirely to the Messias: על ידוי דשלמה אתאמר בנבואה אלהא הלכת דינך למלכא משיחא הב וצדקתך לבריה דדוד מלכא: ידין עמך בצדקה ועניך בהלכת דינא: יטלון יתבי טוריא שלמא לבית ישראל וגלמתא בזכותא: ידין עניי עמא יפרוק לבני חשיכא וישוף גברא טלומא: ידחלון מנך עם מסק שמשא ויצלון קדמך קדם מנהר סיהרא דרי דריא: יחות היך מטרא דרעוא על עסבא דגזיז מן גובאי היך רסיסי מלקושא דנמפין על עסבא דארעא: יסגון ביומוהי צדיקיא וסגיעי שלמא עד די ישתיצון פלחי סהרא: וישלום מן סטר ימא רבא לסטר ימא רבא ומן פרת עד סיפי ארעא: קדמוי ינחנון איפרכיא ובעלי דבבוי עפרא ילחכון: מלכיא דמרסיס וניסי ימא דאוקינוס תקרובתא יתיבון מלכיא דשבא וסבא דורון יקרבון: ויסגדון ליה כל מלכיא כל עממיא ישתעבדון ליה: ארום יפצי חשיכא דבעי מטו ועניא ולית סעיד ליה: יחוס קל מסכינא וחשוכא ונפשת חשיכיא יפרוק: מאונסא ומחטופין יפרוק נפשהון ויהי יקיר אדמהון קדמוי: ויחי ויתן ליה מזהב דאיתיאו ליה משבא ויצלי מטולתיה תדירא כל יומא יברכניה: יהי סעיד לחמא בארעא בריש טוריא ירניש היך כלבנן אביה וינצצון מן קרתא דירושלם היך עסבא דארעא: יהי שמיה מדכר לעלם וקדם מהוי שמשא מזמן הוה שמיה ויתברכון בזכותיה כל עמיא וימרון טב ליה: בריך יי אלהים אלהא דישראל דעביד פרישן רברבן בלחודוהי: ובריך שום יקריה לעלמא ויתמלי מזיו יקריה "By Solomon it is propheti- :כל ארעא אמן ואמן cally said: Give the decision of thy judgments, O

God, to the king Messias; and thy righteousness to the son of David, the king. He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with the decision of judgment. The inhabitants of the mountains shall bear peace to the house of Israel; and the hills shall deal justly. He shall judge the poor of the people; he shall redeem the children of the indigent; and shall crush the oppressive man. They shall fear thee with the rising of the sun; and shall supplicate in thy presence before the light of the moon, unto all generations. He shall descend like gracious rain upon the grass which had been eaten up by the locusts; like the autumnal dews, which distil upon the grass of the earth. In his days the righteous shall increase; and such shall be the abundance of peace, that the worshipers of the moon shall be consumed. He shall rule from the border of the great sea to the border of the great sea, and from the Euphrates to the boundaries of the earth. Before him the governors shall bow; and his enemies shall lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish, and the islands of the ocean, shall bring an offering; the kings of Sheba and of Seba shall offer a present. Nay, all kings shall worship him; all nations shall serve him. For he shall deliver the indigent that beggeth; the poor and the helpless. He shall spare the mendicant and the needy; and shall redeem the soul of the indigent. From violence and from rapine shall he deliver their soul;

and their blood shall be precious before him. He shall live, and he shall give him of the gold which they shall bring him from Sheba; and he shall pray in his behalf continually, all the day shall he bless him. There shall be a piece of bread in the country; on the top of the mountains its fruit shall shake like Lebanon; and they of the city Jerusalem shall flourish like the grass of the earth. His name shall be mentioned for ever; and before the existence of the son was his name ordained; and by his righteousness shall all the peoples be blessed, and they shall pronounce him happy. Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel, who doth marvellously great things by himself alone. Blessed, too, be his glorious name; yea let all the earth be filled with the splendour of his glory, amen, and amen." That the fathers expounded it of him, is acknowledged by Jarchi:* ורבותינו פירשוהו לשון גלוסקיאו' לימות המשיח וכל המזמור במלך המשיח: "Our fathers have expounded it of the sweet cakes of the days of the Messias; and all the psalm of the king Messias." In Massecheth Nedarim, as well as in Massecheth Pesachim, it is thus applied to him :† שמו של משיח דכתיב לפני "The name of the Messias, accord- : שמש ינון שמו ing to that which is written of him, Before the sun Jinnon his name." In Medrask Rabboth : ‡ *Com. in loc. + Een Yaacob, fol. 84, col. 1, Part II. fol. 21, col. 1. ‡ Fol. 209, col. 4.

מלך המשיח מנין דכתיב וירד מים ועד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ בארץ מנין דכתיב וישתחוו לו כל מלכים כל "The king Messias whence proved : גוים יעבדוהו to be a ruler over the sea? From the text, And he shall rule from sea to sea: and from the river to the ends of the earth. But over the earth whence proved? From the words, And all kings shall worship him; all nations shall serve him." In Medrash Megillath Esther :* אלא כשם שהקרבנות מצויים מהיכל לירושלים כך דורכיאו' עם דורניות עתידות להיו' מצויים למלך המשיח הדא הוא דכתיב וישתחוו "But as the offerings shall be or- : לו כל מלכים dered from the temple to Jerusalem; so the couriers with presents shall be ordered to the king Messias, according to that which is written, And all kings shall worship him." In Medrash Tillim :+ דבר אחר משפטיך למלך תן זה מלך המשיח שנאמר ויצא "There is another gloss. Give thy judg- : הופר ments to the king; this is the king Messias, according to what is said of him, And there shall go forth a rod." So again : בני אדם שאלו חכמה ; מהקדוש ברוך הוא דוד ושלמה ומלך המשיח דוד אמר הורני יי חקיך שלמה אמר חכמה ומדע תן לי וכו' אמר ליה החבמה והמדע נתון לך מלך המשיח שנאמר לשלמה "Three men begged : אלהים משפטיך למלך תן וכר': wisdom of the Holy One, blessed be he; David. Solomon, and the king Messias. David said.

^{*} Fol. 86, col. 2. † Fol. 27, col. 4, vid. fol. 34, col. 1. † Hol. 61, 43, col. 3.

Teach me, O Lord, thy statutes. Solomon said, Give thou me wisdom and knowledge, &c. He said to him, Wisdom and knowledge shall be given thee. The king Messias, according to what is said, For Solomon; O God, give thy judgments to the king." In Medrash Mishlee :* ומלך המשיח שנאמר יהי שמו לעולם לפני שמש ינון שמו ויתברכו בו כל גוים יאשרוהו ולמה נקרא שמו ינון שהוא עתיד ליינן "The king Messias, according to what :ישיני עפר: is said, His name shall be for ever, before the sun Jinnon his name; and in him shall they be blessed, all nations shall call him happy. But why is his name Jinnon? Because he is to raise the sleepers from the dust." The above tradition we have also in Sochar Tob.+ These authorities are amply sufficient to demonstrate, that with the ancient fathers it was in a manner exclusively expounded of the king Messias.

But besides the testimonies of the ancients, those of the modern expositors are equally in our favour. It is expounded by Aben Ezra either of Solomon or of the king Messias: בואת דוד או אחד "It is a prophecy: "It is a prophecy מהמשוררים על שלמה או על משיח: "It is a prophecy of Oavid, or of one of the singers, concerning either Solomon or the Messias." By R. David Kimchi in like manner: "By R. David Kimchi in the manner ""

"But there ""

^{*} Fol. 53, col. 3. † Fol. 35, col. 4. ‡ Com. in loc.

are some who expound it of the king Messias; and thus doth the scripture mention him in the Song of Songs; Thou, Solomon, shalt have a thousand." By R. Bechai:* וירד מיעקב זהו המשיח שנאמר עליו "There shall come a ruler from : וירד מים עד ים Jacob; this is the Messias, of whom it is said, And he shall rule from sea to sea." By R. Lipman, of Solomon and the Messias together: + המשוח נאמר על שלמה המלך ע"ה ועל מלך המשיח שיעמוד מזרעו וכן מסיים המשורר ברוך אלהים אלקי ישראל עושה נפלאות לבדו לאפוקי אלהי האומות: "The psalm is spoken of Solomon, the king, peace be upon him; and also of the king Messias, who shall rise up from his seed; and so the singer concludes, Blessed be Jehovah God, the God of Israel, who doeth wonders by himself; in opposition to the gods of the nations." By R. Isaac Abarbinel: ובמלד המשיח כתיב וירד מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי "But of the Messias it is written, And he ארץ: shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." By R. Moses Alshech, of Solomon and the Messias both; though in the sequel he in a manner confines it to the Messias alone: (שלמה שהוא מלוי זה יוסד על שלמה שהוא מלוי חמשה עשר מאברהם עליו ועל מלך המשיח שהוא חזרת חידוש הירה במילוי מתמיד לטתיד לרא:

^{*} Com. on Pent. fol. 209, col. 4. † Com. in loc.

^{*} Com on Pent. fol. 227, col. 4.

[§] Com. in loc. or Romemuth El, fol 60, col. 1.

"Behold the psalm has for its subject Solomon, who is the full of the moon, being the fifteenth from Abraham; as also the Messias, who is the return of the new moon with a fulness which shall be perpetual for the future." By R. Moses Alpalasi:* שמו של משיח מנין שנ' יהי שמו לעולם לפני שמש ינון שמו ויתברכו בו כל גוים יאשרוהו הרי קדימה א' שהיא לפני שמש ש"מש יהי שמו לעולם אינו פי' קדימה אלא פי' נצחי רוצה, לומר יהי שמו תמיד זנצחי וקיים אבל לענין הקדימה. אינה. אלא א': "The name of the Messias whence proved to be anterior to the world? From the scripture; His name shall be for ever; before the sun Jinnon his name; and in him shall they be blessed; all the nations shall pronounce him happy. Look ye, here is one anteriority, that which is before the sun; for as to the scripture, His name shall be for ever; that does not denote anteriority, but only perpetuity; as though he had said, His name shall be continual, perpetual, and everlasting: but with respect to the anteriority, that is but one in number." By R. Menasseh ben Israel: + Hic enim Psalmista, agens de adventu Messiæ, et felicitate ejus seculi, ait, Efflorescent de civitate, tanquam herba ex terra. Quod intelligendum de illis est, qui a mortuis suscitabuntur, uti cap. tertio libri primi ostensum est. "For the psalmist speaking of the coming of the Messias, and of the happiness * Hoil Mosche, Per. IV. fol. 19, col. 2. † De Res. Mort. p. 259. of his age, says, They of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth; which is to be meant of those who shall be raised from the dead, as hath been shewn in the third chapter of the first book." To the preceding authorities it must be needless to add more for the purpose of inferring on this point the sense of the Jewish church.

In general, the meaning of the prophecy is clear and perspicuous throughout; but in a few places, as well from the boldness of the metaphor as from the negligence of the construction, it is attended with a certain degree of obscurity and difficulty. The king and the son of the king, mentioned in the first pasuk, I take to be one and the same personage, the Messias, the subject of the whole prophecy; as in the prophetic and poetic style of the Hebrews, nothing is more idiomatic than to express the same thing twice over by a varied construction: and in this decision I am supported by the authorities of the Paraphrast, Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Alshech, and every other commentator of acknowledged celebrity. The two metaphors, mountains, and, hills, unquestionably personify human creatures of some sort; but whether the more and less powerful nations of the world, as is the opinion of Kimchi; or the savage and barbarous inhabitants of the mountains, as is the opinion of the targumist and Aben Ezra, I presume not to determine; for of both these it may be equally said, that in the days of the Messias they

shall seek righteousness and peace. The expressions, with the sun, and, before the moon, denote contemporeity or equal duration with the heavenly bodies; and, therefore, in signification are equivalent to, for ever for the time to come. The names of Tarshish, Sheba, and Seba are of doubtful explication. I remember having somewhere seen the assertion of Abarbinel, that Tarshish was Tunis in Africa; and though this may not have been the very spot itself, yet I am strongly inclined to believe, that Tarshish was situated in that part of the African coast. Sheba and Seba I take for the kingdoms of Arabia and Ethiopia, and that partly on the authorities of the Septuagint and of Jerome. That, however, which presents as much real difficulty as any thing, is the determination of the subject to the verb, יחדי, he shall live; whether it is to be understood of the Messias; or of the poor and indigent man, whom, in the preceding pasuk, he in future is said to redeem. If it be understood of the Messias, then the verbs which follow in the same pasuk may be taken impersonally; and so be rendered as in the English Translation. In this manner it seems to have been understood by the Seventy, by Jerome, and by Solomon Jarchi, in that he refers the verb, he shall live, to the king who is the subject of the psalm: yea, and it must be confessed, that this mode of altering and changing the subject of the predicate is very idio

matic, and highly consonant to the genius of the language. But on the other hand, it is possible, that the verb, he shall live, may be meant of the poor and indigent man, redeemed from oppression, as is the opinion of Aben Ezra and Kimchi; and, if so, the verbs which follow, may all of them equally refer to him, according to the version which I have given in this work. The expression, There shall be a piece of corn in the earth, will receive the best elucidation from similar examples of the popular style of speech in our own country; where nothing is more common than to say, If the harvest prove favourable, there will be a piece of bread for the poor; As soon as trade revives, we shall have a little money stirring amongst us; meaning, that these things, now scarce, will then be plentiful and abundant in comparison of what they had been. The term, Jinnon, I take with most modern expositors as the future niphal of, מון, a root of very obscure use and signification; but which, from the derivative, מנון, son, as well as from the tenor of the context in this place, may well be thought to mean, to increase, or, to propagate; and that is the import which I have affixed to it in this translation. Besides Solomon Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi and others; the Septuagint translators and Jerome did evidently regard it as a verb, and have assigned to it a meaning in agreement with the context. It is not to be dis-

sembled, however, that the Jewish fathers did generally consider it as a proper name, and unfolded the whole pasuk in such a manner as to allege its testimony for the existence of the name of the Messias before the creation of the world. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that the paraphrast likewise has affixed to the text the very same sense; thus sanctioning by his authority the explication of the fathers. To me, however, the former appears the more natural and eligible construction; notwithstanding that the latter, perhaps, would have better supported my cause. These, I think, are all the doubtful and uncertain renderings which occur in this prophecy; and though none of them may seem to involve any question of importance in the Jewish controversy, yet have I deemed it incumbent upon me to exercise the utmost impartiality of judgment in determining the sense of them. That the whole is a most illustrious prediction of the kingdom of the Messias, is apparent to the least discerning. In it we have set forth the extent of his dominions, the submission of all earthly potentates to his sway, the flourishing condition of the poor under his government, the abundant peace and prosperity afforded by his means, together with the universality of his praises, and the perpetuity of his reign.

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CHAPTER XII.

In the book of the prophet, Micah, there is one of the most extraordinary predictions of the Messias to be met with in the whole volume of scripture. It is as follows:* צעיר אפרתה בית לחם אפרתה צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה ממך לי יצא להיות מושל בישראל ומוצאתיו מקדם מימי עולם: לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה ויתר אחיו ישובון על בני ישראל: ועמד ורעה בעז יהוה בגאון שם יהוה אלהיו וישבו כי עתה יגדל עד אפסי "But thou Bethlehem Ephratha, small to : ארץ: be numbered amongst the thousands of Judah, from thee shall there one go forth unto me to be a ruler in Israel; and his goings forth are from antiquity, from the days of the world. Therefore he shall give them up until the time that she that travaileth, hath brought forth; and the rest of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel. And he shall stand up, and feed in the strength of the Lord, in the majesty of the name of Jehovah, his God; and they shall dwell; because now he shall wax great unto the ends of the earth." I am aware of no expositor having applied this prophecy to any other personage than the king Messias; but if such an one should be found, the weight of his name must be far outbalanced by those very high and grave authorities here to be cited; and which,

^{*} Micah v. 2.

from the great importance of the subject, I shall adduce at full length.

First of all it is applied to the Messias by Jonathan ben Uziel: ואת בית לחם אפרתה כוער הויתא לאתמנאה באלפיא דבית יהודה מנך קדמי יפוק משיחא למהוי עביד שולטן על ישראל די שמיה אמיר מלקדמין מיומי עלמא: בכן יתמסרון כעדן ילדתא למילד ושאר אחיהון יסתמכון עליהון בני ישראל: ויקום וישלוט בתקוף מן קדם יי ברבות שמא דיי אלהיה ויתובון מביני "But : גלות הון ארי כען יסגי שמיה עד סיפי ארעא thou, Bethlehem Ephratha, however small thou mayest be to be numbered amongst the thousands of the house of Judah; from thee shall go forth before me the Messias to be a sovereign over Israel, whose name is spoken of from the beginning, from the days of the world. Therefore they shall be given up for the time that she that beareth, taketh to bring forth; and on the rest of their brethren shall the children of Israel rely for support. And he shall rise up, and rule in the strength from Jehovah, and in the majesty of the name of Jehovah, his God; and they shall return from their captivity, for now shall his name wax great unto the ends of the earth. By R. Solomon Jarchi:* משם דוד משם אפרתה שיצא דוד משם שנ' בן עבדך ישי בית הלחמי ובית לח' קרויה אפרת שנ' בדרך אפר' היא בית לחם: צעיר להיות באלפי יהוד' ראוי הייתה להיו' צעיר במשפחו' יהודה מפני

^{*} Com. in loc.

פסולת רות המואביה שבך ממך יצא לי משיח בן דוד וכן הוא אומר אבן מאסו הבונים: ומוצאותיו מקדם לפני שמש ינון שמו: לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילד' יתנם ביד אויביהם עד בא העת אשר חלה וילד' ציון את בניה ציון אשר החזיקה עתה חיל כיולדה ועכשיו היא קרויה יולדה ורבותינו אמרו מכאן אין בן דוד בא עד שתפשוט המלכות תשעה חדשים על כל העולם כולו אך לפי פשוטו זהו הטעם שפירשתי: ויתר אחיו של מלך יהודה כלומר שאר שבט יהודה: ישובון על בית ישראל יתחברו עם שאר השבטים והיו לממלכה אחת ולא יחצו עוד לשתי ממלכו': ורעה ופרנס את ישראל: וישבו עתה מן הגליות: כי עתה יגדל מלכם עד אפסי ארץ והביאום "But thou, Bethlehem : מנחה אליו בסוסי' וברכב Ephratha, from which did proceed David according to that which is said, The son of thy servant, Jesse, the Bethlemite. Bethlehem is called Ephrath. as in the scripture, In the way of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem. Small to be amongst the thousands of Judah: though thou deservest to be small amongst the families of Judah, because of the idolatry of Ruth, the Moabitess, who was in thee; from thee shall go forth to me the Messias, the son of David; and accordingly the scripture saith. The stone which the builders despised. And his goings forth are from antiquity: before the sun Jinnon his name. Therefore he shall give them up until the time that she that beareth, hath brought forth: he shall surrender them up into the hands of their enemies until the time come that

Zion shall fall in labour, and bring forth her children; Zion, I say, which now keepeth back her strength like a woman in childbirth, and is now called she that travaileth. Moreover, our Rabbies hence say, that the son of David will not come until the kingdom shall have been extended over the whole world nine months: but if we follow the letter, the sense is as I have expounded it. And the rest of his brethren, that is, of the king of Judah; as though he had said, the rest of the tribe of Judah shall return to the house of Israel, shall associate themselves with the rest of the tribes; and they shall become one kingdom, and be no longer divided into two kingdoms. And he shall feed; he shall feed Israel. And they shall return, now from their captivity. For now he shall wax great, that is, their king, unto the ends of the earth; and they shall bring him offerings with horses and chariot." By Aben Ezra:* ואתה חבר השני שמות אפרת היא בית לחם כמו ולא עשו עם בית ירובעל גדעון וטעם צעיר שהיא קטנה : ממך כל זה בעבור דוד שהוא ראש המלוכה על כן ומוצאותיו מקדם על דוד והנה ידבר עם בית לחם אפרתה כי מבני בניך הראשונים יבא מושיע לישראל: לכן יתן השם ישראל שיעמדו בצרה בעת יולדה עד שיתחבר זה המושל וקרוביו עם בני ישראל ויפת אמר כי ית:ם המשיח והטעם יניחם כדרך על כן לא נתתיך: ועמד ורעה יהיה רועה ישראל בעוז השם וישבו לבטח:

^{*} Com. in loc.

"But thou: he connects the two names together, Ephrath, that is, Bethlehem; as in the passage, Nor had they to do with the house of Jerubaal Gideon. The meaning of, צעיר, is, small. From thee: all this is spoken with regard to David, the head of the kingdom; consequently, the words, And his goings forth are from antiquity, have likewise a reference to David. Thus behold he says to Bethlehem Ephratha, From the posterity of thy first children there shall go forth a sovereign for Israel. Therefore the Lord shall allow Israel to continue in affliction till the time of her bringing forth; until this ruler and his friends shall join themselves with the children of Israel. Nor would it be amiss to say, that the Messias shall give them up, meaning, that he shall leave them alone, like as in the text, Therefore I have not abandoned thee. He shall stand up, and feed; he shall feed Israel in the strength of Jehovah, and they shall dwell in security." By R. David Kimchi:* ואתה בית לחם אפרתה אמר אפרתה להודיע איזה בית לחם וכן ואקבר' שם בדרך אפרת היא בית לחם ואמר בית לחם אשר ליהוד' נראה כי בית לחם אחר היה ואמר כנגד בית לחם אתה בית לחם צעיר להיות באלפי יהודה אע"פי שהיית צעיר באלפי יהוד' ממך לי יצא שופט להיות מושל בישראל וזהו המלך המשיח ופירוש להיות להיותך נמנע בערי אלפי יהודח צער אתה כנגדם ואע"פי כן ממך יצא לי המשיח כי מזרע דור שהיה * Com. in loc.

מבית לחם יחיה וזהו שאמר ומוצאתיו מקדם מימי עולם כי מוצאות המשיח בזמנו יאמרו כי מקדם מזמן רב היו מבית לחם זהו דוד כי יש זמן רב בין דוד ובין מלך המשיח ווהו אל שה מימי קדם מימי עולם יש עליהם תשובה כי כי היא לא משל בישראל אבל הם משלו בו ומה שאמר כי מי הידו מימי קדם אלא אל זהו שקר כי האל קודם ימי עולם היה והם אומרי' כי מקדם מימי עולם היו מוצאתיו כלומר כי אז יצא והאל קדמון בלי ראשי' ומש" מעולם עד עולם אתה אל ר"ל מטר' עולם כ"מש בטרם הרי' יולדו וכן מעולם נסכתי מטרם עולם כ"מש עד לא עשה ארץ וחוצו" וית" כן ואת בית לחם אפר' וגו': לכן יתנם בעת הישוע' יתן האל ית' ישראל בצרה ויביאם עד עת יולדה ילדה כלומר יאחזום צירים כצירי יולדה מרוב צרתם כמו שאמר בנבואת דניאל והיתה עת צרה אשר לא נהית מהיות גוי עד העת ההיא: ויתר אחיו ישובון על בני ישראל יתר אחיו הם שבט יהודה ובנימן שנותרו כשגלו עשרת השבטים וכנוי אחיו על המשיח: על כמו עם והם עשרת השבטים כלומר אלה ואלה ישובון על אדמתם ות"י בכן יתמסרון בעידן לידתא למילד ושאר אחיהון יסתמכון עליהון בני ישראל ורז"ל דרשו מזה ואמרו אין בן דוד בא עד שתפשוט המלכות בעולם תשעה חדשי' שנאמ' לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה: ועמד ורעה אחר הצרה יעמוד המלך המשיח וירעה את ישראל בעוז ה': בנאין שם ה' במשפט שיעשה האל בנוים ההם בעוזו ובנאונו שהראה להם ייראו ממנו כל אפסי ארץ וירעה את ישראל בהקשט ובבטחה איש תחת גפנו ואיש תחת תאנתו ואין מחריד כמו שאמר למעלה זהו שאמר וישבו שישבו בבטחה ובשלום לעולם: כי עתה יגדל שם המשיח יגדל עתה אחר משפט "But thou, Bethlehem : הרשעי' וכתי" ויסגא שמיה

Ephratha: he says, Ephratha, to make known, which Bethlehem was meant. So we read, And I buried her there in the way of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem. From his saying, Bethlehem of Judah, it is apparent, that there was another Bethlehem. He here addresses Bethlehem, and says, Thou, Bethlehem, small to be amongst the thousands of Judah; although thou art small to be amongst the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall there go forth to me a judge to be a ruler in Israel, and this is the king Messias. The meaning is, though thou art amongst the cities of the thousands of Judah small in comparison of them; notwithstanding this, out of thee shall go forth to me the Messias; for he shall be of the seed of David, who was of Bethlehem. This, too, accounts for the words, And his goings forth are from antiquity, from the days of the world; because the goings forth of the Messias at the time he will come, shall be spoken of as having been of old, from a long time, from Bethlehem, that is to say, from David; for there will be a long interval between David and the king Messias. But, say they, he who is from old time, from the days of the world, must needs be God. To such we reply, that he whom they mean, does not rule over Israel; but they rule over him. Moreover, as to the assertion, that he who is from the days of antiquity, must of necessity be God, that is not true; as God

subsisted before the days of the world; whereas they here affirm, that his goings forth were but from antiquity, from the days of the world; whilst the eternal God is without any beginning at all; and so saith the scripture, Thou, God, art from everlasting to everlasting, that is, before the world; as it is again said, Before the mountains were brought forth. So again, From eternity have I been anointed, before the world; as it is further said, Before he had made the earth and the fields. Jonathan ben Uziel has expounded it, But thou, Bethlehem Ephratha, &c. Therefore he shall give them up; at the time of the deliverance the Lord shall abandon Israel to their affliction, and shall oppress them with it, until the time that she that beareth, shall have brought forth; that is to say, by reason of the multitude of their afflictions, pains shall seize them like the pains of a woman in childbirth; as it is said in the prophecy of Daniel; And there shall be a time of affliction, such as there never had been since it was a nation until that time. And the rest of his brethren shall return to the children of Israel: and the rest of his brethren, that is, of the tribe of Judah, and of Benjamin, who were left at the time that the ten tribes were carried into captivity. The suffix, his, in, his brethren, refers to the Messias: and the preposition, אָל, to, has here the sense of, by, with; meaning, with the ten tribes; as though

he had said. Both the one and the other shall return to their own country. Jonathan ben Uziel has paraphrased it, Therefore they shall be delivered for the time that she that beareth, taketh to bring forth; and on the rest of their brethren shall the children of Israel rely. Moreover, our Rabbies of blessed memory hence deduce, that the son of David will not come till the kingdom shall extend itself over the world nine months, agreeably to these words, And he shall give them up until the time that she that beareth, shall have brought forth. And he shall stand up, and feed; after the affliction the king Messias shall stand up, and feed Israel in the strength of the Lord. In the majesty of the name of Jehovah; by the judgment which God shall work amongst those nations by his power and excellency, which he shall make manifest to them, all the ends of the earth shall fear him; and he shall feed Israel in quietness and safety, each under his own vine, and each under his own figtree, and none making them afraid, as the scripture saith above. Hence it is said, And they shall dwell, when they return, in security and peace for ever. For now shall he be great; the name of the Messias shall now be great, after the judgment of the wicked. So the targum of Jonathan: His name shall augment." By R. Lipman :* כל זאת נופרשי הנוצרי על הנוצרי ושקר מתנבאי' שהרי אין ממשלתו על ישראל שיאמינו

^{*} Nitsachon, com. in loc. p. 139.

בו או יראוהו או יעבדוהו: ועוד שאמה בגאון ה' אלחיור שיש לזה אלוה ואין בעצמו אלוה ואף לפי טעותם שאומרים שעל בשר נאמר א"כ תקשה להם הלא נמצא הבשר מקדם מימי עולם: ועוד שישנו אהים למלך זה ועוד הלא בשעת לידתו לא אירע דבר ורק על שעת מותו אומרים שמלך ועוד שאין ממשלתו עד אפסי ארץ ועוד שהפרשה מסיימת היות שארית יעקב בגוים בקרב עמים רבים כאריה בבהמות וגו' עד וטרף ואין מציל וגו' עד וכל אויביד יכרתו והנה כל זה עדיין אינו אלא הכל קאי על מלך המשיח שהוא מזרע דוד שנולד בבית לחם וגו' ומזרעו יצא המושל ומוצאתיר מקדם כמו שנא' ולפני שמש ינון שמו: לכן יתנם לשון המתנה כלו' ימתינו בגלות עד עת יולדה זהו ציון כמו שנאמר בפרש' של מעלה חולי וגוחי בת ציון כיולדה וגו' ויתר אחיו בניה: ויתר אחיו את בניה: ויתר אחיו ישובון על בני ישראל כלו' יהיו בכלל ישראל ולא יהיו עוד לשני נוי' ולא יחצו עוד לשתי ממלכות: והוא ימשול עד אפסי ארץ כמו שנאמר וירד מים ועד ים מנהר עד אפסי " The whole of this prophecy the Christians : ארץ: expound of Christ. But they prophesy falsely; for, surely, he exercises no kind of sway over Israel; so that they may be said either to believe in him, or to fear him, or to serve him. The prophet saith, In the majesty of Jehovah, his God; so that he has a God, and is not God himself. Should we follow their own method of arguing, and say, that this is spoken of his humanity; still they will be involved in the difficulty, that his humanity then must have subsisted from antiquity, from the days of the world. The king here spoken of is said to have

brethren. There was at the time of the birth of Christ, no remarkable occurrence; whilst at the time of his death they tell us, that he was a king. Besides he does not rule unto the ends of the earth. The prophecy, moreover, concludes by saying, that the remnant of Jacob amongst the Gentiles, in the midst of many nations, shall be as a lion amongst the cattle, &c. unto the words, And he shall tear the prey, and there shall be none to deliver, &c. as far as, And all his enemies shall be cut off. Now hitherto nothing of the kind has taken place; though, doubtless, the whole of the prophecy is to be understood of the king Messias, who is of the seed of David, who was born in Bethlehem, &c. From his seed shall proceed the ruler whose goings forth are from antiquity, as the scripture saith, Before the sun Jinnon his name. Therefore he shall give them up; the verb here used implying delay, as though he had said, they shall wait in exile for the time of her that bringeth forth, that is, of Zion; as it is said in a preceding passage, Be thou in pain, and labour to bring forth, O daughter of Zion, like a woman in travail, &c. So likewise in Isaiah it is written, For as soon as Zion travaileth, she bringeth forth her children. And the rest of his brethren shall return to the children of Israel, that is, they shall be incorporated into Israel; and they shall be no longer two nations, nor any more divided into two kingdoms. And he shall rule to

the ends of the earth, as it is said, And he shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." By R. Isaac Abarbinel:* ואמר כנגד בית לחם אשר באפרתה מנחלת יהודה כי בית לחם אחרת היתה בארץ ישראל כמו שוכר ה"ר דוד קמתי עם היות העיר הזה קטון ביישובה ועמה כפי דרך שאר ערי יהודה עם כל זה ממך לי יצא מי שיהיה מושל בישראל והוא מלך המשיח אשר ימלוך עליהם וביאר שלא אמר זה לפי שהוא יהיה נולד עתה באותו בית לחם אבל מוצאותיו ומשפחתו משם מקדם מימי עולם והענין שיהיה מזרע דוד אשר נולד בבית לחם ומבית ישי בית הלחמי וכאילו אמר ומוצאותיו של המלך והמושל הזה יהיה מבית לחם מהזמן הקדמון מימי עולם שהם הימים אשר מלך דוד על ישראל ואמנם אומרו לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה אפשר לפרש שחוזר למעלה שמפני עצת ה' אשר יעין לקבין את כל העמים כעמיר גורנה להנקם מהם לכן יתן את ישראל בצרה גדולה כמו היולדה בעת שתלד וכאלו אמר עד שתחוה עתם כעת היולדה כשתלד וחכמים אל אמרו בפרק קמא דיומא אין בן דוד בא עד שתתפשט טלכות הרשעה על כל העולם ט' חדשים שנא' לכן יתנם עד עת יולדה ילדה ולא תרחיק מאמרם כי אולי גם אותה מהומה ממלחמת האומות תתמיד אותו זמן בדיוק ולא יעשה ה' אוֹקים דבר כי אם גלה סודו אל עבדיו הנביאים וקבלה זו היתה בידיהם ז"ל מימי הנביאים והכתוב מורה עליו באומרו עד עת יולדה ילדה שהם תשעה חדשי ההריון ולפי שעשרת השבטים יבאו ראשונה לארץ ישראל והם יבאו להלחם בנוצרים עם שאר אנשי המזרח והצפון לכן אמר ויתר אחיו רוצה לומר יהוד' ובנימן ישובון על בני

^{*} Com. in loc.

ישראל שהם עשרת השבטים ואז המושל הנזכר שיוצא כוזרע בית לחם יעמוד וירעה את כולם בעוז ה' בגאון אלקיו רוצה לומר בסבת הנקמה שיעשה הש"י באומות שהיא תהיה גאותו וכבודו כמו שאמר ה' מלך גאות לבש לבש ה' עוז התאזר ואז ישאו כולם בארץ כי עתה יגדל המושל הנזכר עד אפסי ארץ ואפשר לפרש לכן יתנם שחוזר לענין המושל שזכר שראוי שיהיה תמיד מזרע דוד כי הנה לכן רוצה לומר לאותה סבה שעזבו בני ישראל את בית דוד וסרו מאחריו ויתנם ה' בגלותם עד עת יולדה ילדה בצרות ומכאובות רבים ובזה גלה שחרבן השבטי' יהיה באותו עון ואמנ' יהודה ובנימן שלא עובו את דוד מלכם נם כן ילכו בגולה כמוהם ועל זה אמר ויתר אחיו ישובון על בני ישראל כלומר ללכת בגולה כמו שהם הלכו ועם היות שחכמי ז"ל זכרו ענין משיח בן יוסף שיקום ראשונה כבר אמרו שימות במלחמה ואולי שהשבטים יראו כי מת נבורם ויאמרו הלא על אשר עזבנו מלכות בית דוד מצאונו הרעות האלה וגם בנלל זה מת המשיח הזה ולכן יתלוננו בצל משיח בן דוד וייעד הנביא שאותו מושל מבית דוד ימשול בכל העולם עד אפסי ארץ וששלום ואכות יחיה בימיו עד שכבר יבוא אשור בארץ ישראל ולא יפחדו פן יבא להלחם: He addresses Bethlehem in Ephratha of the inheritance of Judah; as, according to R. David Kimchi, there was another Bethlehem in Israel. Although this was a small city in extent and population, when compared with the other cities of Judah; nevertheless, says he, out of thee shall go forth to me one that shall be ruler in Israel, namely, the king Messias; who shall reign over them: clearly setting forth his meaning to be, not

that he was now to be born in the very town of Bethlehem; but that his going forth and his family were thence, from antiquity, from the days of the world; the sense being, that he should spring from the seed of David, who was born in Bethlehem, and of the house of Jesse, the Bethlehemite; just as though he had said, And the goings forth of this king and ruler shall be from Bethlehem, from old time, from the days of the world, the days in which David was king over Israel. But as to the words, Therefore he shall give them up unto the time that she that beareth, hath brought forth; we may expound them in reference to what goes before; that because of the counsel of Jehovah whereby he hath determined to collect the peoples like a sheaf to the thrashing-floor to have them punished, therefore he shall yield them up to great afflictions, like as a pregnant woman at the time of her bringing forth; as though he had said, until their time shall resemble that of a pregnant woman when she is going to bring forth. Moreover, our sages of blessed memory, in the first perek of Massecheth Joma, say, that the son of David will not come until the iniquitous kingdom shall have extended itself over the world nine months, according to this scripture, Therefore he shall give them up until the time that she that beareth, shall have brought forth: nor is this saying of theirs remote from the truth, in that, perhaps, the tumult arising from the

wars of the nations will last precisely this period; nor is the Lord going to perform any thing of which he has not revealed the secret to his servants, the prophets. This tradition has been in their hands from the days of the prophets, the scripture implying so much in that it says, Until the time that she that beareth, shall have brought forth, which is nine months, the period of gestation. But because the ten tribes shall come first into the land of Israel, and shall fight against the Christians with other eastern and northern warriors; therefore the scripture saith, And the rest of his brethren, that is, of Judah and Benjamin, shall return unto the children of Israel, the ten tribes; and then the predicted ruler, proceeding from the seed of Bethlehem, shall stand up and feed them all in the strength of Jekovah, in the majesty of his God, that is to say, by virtue of the punishment which the Lord shall inflict upon the nations; which shall be his pride and glory, as the scripture saith, The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty; the Lord is clothed with strength with which he hath girded himself: and then shall they all be exalted in the land; for now the aforesaid ruler shall wax great unto the ends of the earth. But these same words, Therefore he shall give them up, may be explained with reference to the ruler above mentioned, who ought always to be of the seed of David; for behold, therefore, that is to say, for the very cause that the

children of Israel forsook the house of David, and turned their backs on it, the Lord shall leave them in their captivity until the time that she that beareth, shall have brought forth in many sorrows and afflictions; and hereby doth the scripture manifest, that the desolation of the tribes shall be for that very iniquity; and so Judah and Benjamin which forsook not David, their king, shall equally with them go into exile; for which reason it is said, And the rest of his brethren shall return to the children of Israel, namely, by going into exile in the same manner as they had gone. And, although our sages of blessed memory have related of the Messias ben Joseph, that he shall arise first; yet have they equally asserted, that he shall die in the wars: and, that the probable case will be, that the tribes will see, that their champion is dead, and will say; Surely, because we forsook the kingdom of the house of David, have all these evils come upon us; and for that very reason, too, is this Messias dead: and so, consequently, they will put themselves under the protection of the Messias ben David. The prophet, moreover, promises, that this very ruler of the house of David shall govern throughout the whole world, to the ends of the earth; and that in his days there shall be peace and truth in such abundance, that now Ashur shall come up into the land of Israel without their being in fear, that he is coming to make war upon them."

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By R. Moses Alshech:* יואחר וכו' ואחר בית לחם וכו' ואחר שדבר עם יש' שלא זכו יהיה חזקיה מלך המשיח ויש' עם נושע בה' עולם ועד בא ודבר עם חוקיה שהוא מבי' לחם אפרתה כי משם הוא שורשו ואמר כמדבר עמז הנה צעיר אתה להיות באלפי יהודה שהוא להיות משיח ויהו על שלא אמר שירה או על שלא נשא אשה עדין אמנם ממך לי יצא שהוא מזרעך מושל ביש' הוא מלך זהמשיח העתיד שבא מזרעו ותצדק לו המלוכה ההיא על כי ומוצאותיו סקדם כי הנה לו ב' מוצאות א' מאד' הא' כי מאדם יצא כי נפשו הוא והמוצא הב' הוא מדוד ושני מוצאותיו הם מקדם שהוא מאז כרא אלהים אדם בג"ע מקדם כי גם בחינת דוד שם היתה בכח או יאמ' ומוצאותיו מקרם שהוא מקדם לעולם והוא משו"ל כי משבעה דברים שקדמו לעולם הוא שמו של משיח שנאמ' לפני שמש וכו' כי מאז מוצאותיו מאד' ומדוד היה כי במציאות במחשבתו ית' כי מוצאותיו אשר היו במחשבה מקדם לעולם היה להיות' מימי עולם הם ששת ימי בראשית הנקראי' ימי עולם יען כי המה כוללו כל ימות עולם כי שיתא אלפי שנה הוי עלמא לעומת ששת ימי המעשה של בראשות וחד חרוב לעומת השבת שלא היה בו מעשה ואמר כי מאותם ימי עול' היו מוצאותיו נגזרו' וכמאמרנו על מזמור שיר ליום השבת כי מאז זמר אדם על ששבת הגינה עליו ע"י זכות דוד כי טוב להודות לה' כי יבא דוד לתקן בהודות לה' ולזמר לשמו ית' עליון להגי' בבוקר וכו' בזמירותיו עלי עשור שינגן לתקן עשר קללות ש תקלל העולם ע"י אד' שקלקל עולם שנברא בי' מאמרות ועל מה שהוא ית' מאז חשב מחשבות לתקן עול' ע"י דור ומלך המשיח אמר מאד עמקו מחשבו' הנה כי מימי * Com. in lec.

עולם היו מוצאותיו במציאו' לפניו ית' לכן אחר שהמשיה העתי' הוא מאד' ימשך כי יתנם עד עת יולד' ילדה ניהיה ענין מאמרם ז"ל מפסוק זה כי עתידה אדום למשול, תשעה חדשים בכל העולם וראוי לשים לב על מאמרם איזה יחס יש ושליטת אדום ממלכות אחרת ועוד שהי"לל עד עת לרת יולדה ולא עד עת יולדה ילדה שיראה שעל מלרה ידוע' שולדה ידבר על כן אחשב' שעל מה שרבקה. היתה סיבת העביר מעשו ברכת יעבדוך עמים וישתחוו. לך לאומים על כן הוצרך להיות לאדו' צד שליטה בעמים ולאמי' ולהיות כי בזמן העתיד אין שליטה לחצוני' בעולם על כן הועיל לו כי זמן שהי׳ עשו תוך הקדוש' שהוא מיום שנתעברה אמו ממנו עד שילדתו היה לו כה למשול בעמים ולאמים שהוא העביר שליטתו מעליהם וזה אומרו עד עת. יולדה ילדה שהם מ' חדשים וענין קשר. הכתובים לפי זה יהיה בהזכיר מאמר' ז"ל בס' הזוהר כי רבקה ובעלה באו לתקן קלקול אדם וחוה כי הם גרמו ע"י נחש עשר קללות בעולם ורבקה ובעלה ע"י עשו שהוא מהצד ההוא של נחש גרמו עשר ברכות ויתן לך וכו' ונבא אל הענין אומר הוא ית' הנה היה רצוני לעשות חזקיה מלך המשיח ולא זכיתם כי אם שיהיה בן דור העתיד דעי מה הפסדת כי לכן שלא זכית לכך ימשך המשיח בן דוד הוא המושל ביש' הנו' יתנם וינחם את העמים ולאמים ביד אדום עד עת וכו' והוא כי עתה בהיות אדם הוא מלך המשיח יש עכוב בידו למשול על כל עמים חצונים גם הם עד יתקן מה שמנעה רבקה מעשו ששרו הוא בעל דינו של אדום שהיה ראוי ימשול באשמת אדם הוא דוד הוא מוך המשיח אך אלו היה הזקיה הוא מלך המשיח לא חיה צריך להפיס דעת שרו של עשו בעד מה שרבקה מנעה הברכות ממגו שהוא בעל דינו של

אדם ולא של חזקיה וזהו לכן יתנם בעת היולדה עד עת ילדה היא מ' חדשים ועוד דבר שני הפסדתם והוא כי ויתר אחיו ישובון על בני יש' והוא כי הנה אר"זל אין בן דוד בא עד שיכלו כל הנשמות שבנוף וראוי לדעת מה הוא הגוף הלזה כי דוחק הוא לומד כי הוא אוצר וגם נדקדק אומר' בן דוד ולא אמר אין משיח בא וכו' אך הוא כי הנה אר"זל בשמות רבה כי כל הנשמות העתידות לבא בעולם ביש' כלן היו בכח באדם וכאשר קלקל הוא נתקלקלו כלו על כן צריכים לבא כלן ליתקן והוא הטעם אל היות גזרת המית על כל העתידי לבא גם הצדיקי' על כי על כלן עבר הקלקול ואין תיקונם רק ע"י המות ככתוב אצלינו על מאמר ר' מאיר והנה טוב מאד והנה טוב מות והוא מה שכתוב אצלנו על פסוק הכל כאשר לכל וזה אמרם ז"ל אין בן דוד בא עשכ"הש הידוע הוא גופו של אדם הא' שיכלו משם ויבואו כלן והוא כי להיות המשיח בן דוד שהוא אדם אי אפשר להיות שליטתו שלמה עד יתוקן אשר עותו שקלקל הוא את כלן כי בו היו כאשר חטא כלומר שאלו יצוייר יהיה המשיח אחר ולא בן דוד שהוא אדם לא היה צריך יכלו כלן וזה יאמר ויתר אחיו וכו' לומר שע"י היות המושל ביש' בן דוד שמוצאותיו מאדם על כן צריך שוית! אחיו שהיו באדם שהן כל הנשמו' שבגוף צריך שישובון לעולם על בני ישראל כי כאשר באו באד' פעם א' צריך שישובון עוד על בני יש' ליתקן בם בנינם יש' בתורת ה' ובמצותיו כלומר מה שאין כן אם היה חזקיהו מלד המשיח שלא היה צריך לכך כי לא אדם חוא כבן דוד שיצטרך לתקן הנשמות שקלקל ובדבר הזה אין מאמר אין בן דור בא עד שיכלו כו' חולק עם מאמרם שבקש העב"ה לעשו' את חוקיה מלך המשיח: ועמד כו' אמר כי יעמוד

ויקום מלך המשיח בהתיצבות ומעלה ורעה שהוא לשון הכנע' שיכניע את הגוים שירועם בעוז ה' שהוא האומר לו שאל ממני ואתנה גוים נחלתך וכו' תרועם וכו' וזהו ורעה בעוז וכו' שירועם בעוזו ית' והוא בגאון שם ה' אלהיו והוא כי אז יגדל כב יכול שם ה' אשר נשבע ית' שלא יהיה ה' שלם עד ינקם מעמלק שנאמר כי יד על כס יה וכו' ואז יהיה עוז ה' בזמן נאון ה' שיגדל בד' אותיותיו שיעלו זה עם זה ויקרא אלהיו בעצם והוא כי א' מהשלשה שנקראים בשם הגדול הזה הוא משיח כד"א זה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו ואז לא יתקוממו חגוי' כאשר ירועם כי אם וושבו וחוא כי אז יגדל עד אפסי ארץ " Thou, Beth- :ותהיה חתיתו על כל גויי הארץ: lehem, &c. after having told Israel, that they were unworthy to have Hezekiah for the king Messias, and to be a people saved by Jehovah for ever; he goes on to discourse with Hezekiah. who was from Bethlehem Ephratha, for thence had he sprung; and thus addresses him: Behold, thou art small to be amongst the thousands of Judah. that is, to be the Messias; and that because he had not composed a sacred song, nor as yet married a wife; nevertheless from thee, that is, from thy seed, shall there go forth to me a ruler in Israel, the future king Messias, who will come from his seed, and to whom the kingdom will be rightly due, because that his goings forth are from antiquity; as he has two goings forth, the one from the first man, seeing that he proceeded from Adam, and is his soul; but the second going forth

is from David: and these two goings forth are from antiquity, from the time that God created Adam in the garden of Eden of old time; for even the form of David there existed potentially. Or, by the expression, And his goings forth are from antiquity, may be meant, that he has existed from the time before the world; and this will agree with what our Rabbies of blessed memory have handed down, That of the seven things which were before the world, the name of the Messias was one, according to the scripture, Before the sun, &c. because from that time his goings forth were from Adam and from David; for he then existed in the divine mind, and so his goings forth, having been in contemplation from before the world, would be from the days of the world, that is, from the six days of the creation, called the days of the world, forasmuch as they comprehend all the days of the world; seeing that the world exists six thousand years, corresponding to the six days of the creation; whilst one thousand shall be desolate, corresponding to the sabbath on which nothing was achieved: and thus it is, that he says, From the very days of the world have his goings forth been pre-ordained. This, too, is agreeable to what we have said on the psalm, entitled, The song for the day of the sabbath; that from the beginning of time Adam sung sacred songs; as the sabbath protected him by virtue of the merits

of David, and it is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord: for David had to come; and by his thanksgivings to God, by singing to his exalted name, by meditating in the morning &c. and by his psalms on an instrument of ten strings thereafter to be tuned, he had to rescind the ten curses with which the world had been cursed by means of Adam, who caused the world to be cursed; that world, I say, which had been created by ten words. Moreover, because the Lord from the beginning of time entertained the design of correcting the evils of the world by means of David and the king Messias; therefore the scripture saith, Very deep are the thoughts of Jehovah. See ye, how his goings forth have been in existence before God, from the days of the world. Therefore; that is, since the future Messias shall be drawn from Adam. therefore it is, that he shall give them up until she that beareth, shall have brought forth; the sense of which pasuk, according to the fathers, is, that the kingdom of Edom shall have the supremacy throughout the world for nine months. Now it may not be amiss to consider, with regard to this their statement, what relation there can here be to the supremacy of Edom more than to that of other kingdoms: not to mention, that grammatical propriety requires, that the expression should have been, Until the delivery of her that bringeth forth; and not, Until the time that she that

bringeth forth, hath brought forth; as it is fully apparent, that of one who is known to be a childbearer, it may at any time be affirmed, that she hath brought forth. My opinion, then, is, that as Rebecca was the cause of the passing from Esau that blessing; Peoples shall serve thee, and nations shall bow down to thee; so it was fit and proper, that Edom should have some sway over the peoples and nations: and since in the time to come the foreign powers shall exercise no sovereignty in the world, therefore this advantage will redound to him, that all the time that Esau was in a holy womb, that is to say, from the time that his mother became pregnant with him, until she had brought him forth, he shall be empowered to exercise rule over the peoples and nations; and then shall his sway pass from them: and this is the purport of the words, Until the time that she that beareth, hath brought forth, namely, for nine months. In this manner there will be scripture connected with scripture, when we commemorate their saying in Sepher Zohar, That Rebecca and her husband came to repair the curse of Adam and Eve; for they, by means of the serpent, had occasioned ten curses to the world; whereas Rebecca and her husband, by means of Esau, who was from the side of the scrpent, were the occasion of ten blessings: God shall give thee, &c. But to return more immediately to the subject. The Lord says,

Behold, I had wished to make Hezekiah the king Messias; but ye have not deserved, that it should be any, except the son of David in future. Consider what a loss thou hast sustained; for because thou wast not worthy, therefore there shall be drawn the Messias ben David, the ruler above mentioned, in Israel. He shall give up and abandon the peoples and nations to the power of Edom until the time, &c. meaning, that now, because Adam and the king Messias will be one and the same person, he shall be precluded from exercising any sovereignty even over the foreign nations until that which Rebecca deprived Esau of, shall be repaired; whose prince is the adversary of Adam, who ought of right to have exercised dominion over the sin of Adam. that is, David, the king Messias: whereas, if Hezekiah had been the Messias, there would have been no necessity for reconciling the mind of the prince of Esau in consideration of Rebecca having hindered him of the blessings; he being the adversary of Adam, but not of Hezekiah. Hence we have the purport of the scripture, Therefore he shall give them up, at the time of her becoming pregnant, until the time that she hath brought forth, that is to say, for nine months. Besides, there is a second thing which you have thereby lost; and that is, that the rest of his brethren shall return to the children of Israel. For look ye, our Rabbies of blessed memory say, The son of David will not Vol. II. Rr

come, until all the souls that are in the body, shall have had an end. Now it deserves to be considered, what this body is; for we must own it to be a kind of repository. The literal expression, too, is, The son of David; it is not said, the Messias will not come, but only he: for, behold, in Shemoth Rabba, our Rabbies of blessed memory say, that all the the souls which are to come into the world in Israel, were every one of them virtually in Adam; and that when he occasioned the curse, they were all cursed; for which cause they must all come to have their curse removed. Hence we see the reason for the decree of death being upon all that are to come, even upon the righteous themselves; because the curse hath passed upon all, and there is no repairing their disaster, except by means of death, according to what we have written on the saying of R. Meir; And, behold, it was very good; and, behold, death is good. The same thing we have laid down on the pasuk, All are alike; so that this is the meaning of their saying, The son of David will not come till all the souls that are in the body, shall have had an end; which is to be understood of the body of the first man, whence they will have their end, and all come into the world; and that because it is not possible for the Messias, the son of David, who is the same with Adam, to exercise complete sovereignty until that be repaired which his iniquity had occasioned, in that he caused all to be cursed;

as all were in him at the time that he sinned: as though they should say, If any other Messias could have been imagined, that would not have been the son of David, and the same with Adam: there would have been no need for all the souls to have had an end first. Hence the purport of the words, And the rest of his brethren, &c. meaning, that by virtue of the ruler in Israel being the son of David, whose goings forth are from Adam; it is therefore necessary, that the rest of his brethren, who are in Adam, or all the souls in the body, should return into the world to the children of Israel: for, as they once went into Adam; so is it fit, that they should again return to the children of Israel to be in them amended, for the sake of Israel, by the law of Jehovah and his precepts; which would not have been the case, if Hezekiah had been the king Messias; as it would not have been thus necessary; for he was not Adam, like the son of David, that there should have been any need to repair the condition of those souls which he had caused to be cursed. In this manner there is no repugnance between the saying of the fathers, that the son of David will not come until there shall be an end made, &c. and that other one, that the Lord sought to make Hezekiah the king Messias. And he shall stand up; the meaning is, that the Messias shall stand up, and be exalted in majesty and excellency; and shall crush; the verb having the sense of, to cause to bow down, so that he shall

bow down the nations, so as to crush them with the strength of Jehovah; who shall say to him, Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathers for thine inheritance, &c. and thou shalt crush them, &c. this being the meaning of the words, And he shall crush with the strength, &c. that he shall crush them with the strength of Jehovah, and that by the majesty of the name of Jehovah, his God: for then, if we may be allowed the expression, the name of Jehovah shall be amplified; whereof the Lord hath sworn, that there shall not be Jehovah entire until he be revenged of Amalek, according to the text, For the hand is on the throne of Jah. Then, however, there shall be the strength of Jehovah, at the time of the exaltation of the name; which shall wax great with its four letters, ascending the one with the other; and shall be called, peculiarly, his God; and that because one of the persons or things called by this exalted name, is the Messias, according to the text, This is the name which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness. Nor will the nations, then that he shall crush them, stand up; but they will sit still; and that because he shall then wax great to the ends of the earth, and the dread of him shall fall upon all the nations of the world." From the above testimonies nothing can appear more unquestionable than that, with the Jews, this prophecy is understood of the Messias; but in what sense several of its constituent parts are to be taken, is not so easily determined.

That which forms the most important question is, in what manner we are to consider the goings forth of the Messias to have been from antiquity, and from the days of the world; for in my opinion scarcely any of the illustrations here cited will come up to the letter and sense of the original. By Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and Abarbinel, the sources of his goings forth are confined to Bethlehem and David; and the expressions, from antiquity, from the days of the world, are referred to no higher point of time than when David was king over Israel; a gloss which cannot possibly be admitted without renouncing every legitimate rule and principle of interpretation. In Hebrew, indeed, the construction, מקדם, from antiquity, or, of old time, may be used indefinitely, and denote any remote period of time past which may be the subject of discourse; but the expression, מימי עולם, from the days of the world, has no such latitude of signification; but must mean, if not, from eternity, at least, from the very birth and beginning of the creation. Besides, the term, מוצאות, here translated by, goings forth, is never employed to mean pedigree or family extraction, but the actual appearance only or manifestation of any person or thing; so that it cannot with the least colour of propriety be applied to express a whole line

of ancestry in the manner suggested by the forenamed expositors. To proceed at any time, is, to come forth into actual existence; and, if the processions of the Messias were from the days of the world, they must have been from the creation, if not from eternity: there is no dispensing with the necessity of this inference. To me, indeed, there appear but two ways of fairly expounding this part of the prediction. The one is, to consider those goings forth of the Messias as having all along from the foundation of the world been divinely announced to mankind, and made the constant theme of oracular prediction: as though he had said, Whose goings forth have been announced and expected since the beginning of the world. Such appears to have been the mind of Jonathan ben Uziel, in that his paraphrase of the text is, Whose name has been spoken of from the beginning; and, perhaps, of Jarchi and Lipman both, who, though they have not sufficiently explained themselves; yet, from their citing a certain text out of the seventysecond psalm, which by the fathers is repeatedly alleged as a scriptural proof of the name of the Messias having existed before the creation of the world; they may well be supposed with the talmudists to have understood it of his pre-existence in the contemplation of the Supreme Being. The other way is, to take the words in their plainest and most literal acceptation, and to

maintain, that, by some previous mode or other of procession and manifestation, his goings forth have been many in number; and have actually taken place from the beginning of the world. This is the mode of explication adopted by Alshech, who by virtue of the cabbalistic doctrine, that Adam, David, and the Messias have one soul, finds himself more at liberty to follow the literal sense; and by those to whom the doctrine of the transmigration of souls presents no scruple, will be thought to have given a more plausible solution of this extraordinary passage than any commentator besides that has meddled with the question. In balancing their respective merits, it is difficult to decide to which of these two modes the preference is due. If with the professors of Judaism we could fully admit the doctrine of the metempsychosis; the latter explication, perhaps, would appear the more natural. The former, however, gives a very probable sense; and since it is unembarrassed by any hypothesis, as well as supported by more adequate authority, I shall adhere to it only in my application of the prophecy.

There is much obscurity in what is foretold of his giving them up until the time that she that travaileth, shall have brought forth; whether the, he, who shall give them up, is to be understood of Jehovah, or of the Messias; and whether the verb, he shall give, may not now as at other times be

taken impersonally, and so rendered, They shall be given up; as we find it paraphrased by Jonathan ben Uziel. But after much consideration, the sense of the scripture I take to be, that the kingdom of Judah shall be abandoned by the Messias to afflictions and oppression in exile for a certain but indefinite length of time, that is to say, until the city of Zion, here as in other place compared to a woman in labour, shall have terminated her pangs and sorrows by a perfect emancipation from all her enemies; when the remnant of the brethren of the Messias, that is, of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, shall return from captivity amongst the children of Israel; and they shall dwell and flourish in the land as one nation and kingdom under the sway of the Messias. This I conceive to be the import of the passage; and with this gloss most of the commentators above cited will be found to accord. The whole of the prediction, indeed, is pregnant with testimony, that the Messias was to spring from the loins of David; that the notification of his advent was commensurate with the creation; and that under his dynasty the returning captives of Judea shall form themselves into one happy and united community.

CHAPTER XIII.

In the book of the prophet, Isaiah, there are many marvellous predictions of the Messias and his kingdom. That which stands first in order is the following:* כי ילד ילד לנו בן נתן לנו ותהי המשרה על שכמו ויקרא שמו פלא יועץ אל גבור אבי עד שר שלום: לסרבה המשרה ולשלום אין קץ על כסא דוד ועל ממלכתו להכין אתה ולסעדה במשפט ובצדקה מעתה " For un- : ועד עולם קנאת יהוה צבאות תעשה זאת to us a boy is born, unto us is a son given; and the government is upon his shoulder; and his name is called, Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty Hero, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace. To the increase of the government and to peace there shall be no end, on the throne of David, and on his kingdom; so as to establish and fix it with judgment and righteousness henceforward and for ever. zeal of the Lord of Hosts shall perform this." awarding the above prophecy to the Messias, I am running counter to the general consent of the Jewish expositors, who unanimously agree in applying it to Hezekiah. Notwithstanding, however, the weight of their opposition, I by no means despair of convincing the candid and unprejudiced Jew, that the true subject of this prophecy is the Messias; and that, though the commentators have appeared to be guided by the authority of the fathers,

they have somewhat mistaken the sense of their tradition.

First of all they allege, that this scripture is closely connected with what goes before it; and forms but a part of the prediction of the deliverance of Judah from the menaces of Senacherib in the reign of king Hezekiah. That the prophet commences with an allusion to the several calamities inflicted upon the countries of Zebulon, Naphthali and Galilee, by Tiglath-piliser; and that, passing from the sufferings of Israel to the subsequent escape of the house of Judah, he describes under the allegory of a people, that sit in darkness having seen a great light, the slaughter of the camp of Senacherib by the sword of the angel; and the final deliverance of the kingdom of Hezekiah from the tyrannical oppression of the Assyrian monarch. That the assigned cause of this wonderful redemption is the righteous desert of young Hezekiah; for, unto us, saith the prophet, and not, unto the father, is the boy born, and the son given. That the verbs, to be born, and, to be given, being in the preterite tense, clearly indicate, that the person contemplated was already in existence. That in the government being promised to be placed upon his shoulder, there is a pointed allusion to the condition of his father, Ahaz, who was obliged to bear upon his shoulder the burden of the king of Assyria. That the, no end of his government, may very well

signify the unmeasured space of his rule, and not an illimitation of time; and that the phrase, for ever, does not necessarily denote perpetuity of duration, but is sometimes used for a limited period. according to the nature of the subject; as when it was said of Samuel, that he should minister unto the Lord, for ever. In short, that in the talmud the fathers have expounded it of Hezekiah; and from it deduced the tradition, that the Lord had it in contemplation to make Hezekiah the Messias. These are the chief, if not the only, arguments hitherto advanced for its application to the son of Ahaz; and are to be found in the various comments of Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Lipman, Abarbinel, and Alshech; but especially of Lipman and Abarbinel, who have taken more than ordinary pains to expound it of Hezekiah.

Now, that the prophecy before us was delivered in the reign of king, Ahaz, and that too, when Rezin and Pekah were conspiring against his throne, is apparent as well from the preceding as the subsequent parts of the context; and that the commemorated afflictions of Zebulon and Naphthali, together with those of Galilee, allude to the recent calamities brought upon the kingdom of Israel by Tiglath-piliser, is equally apparent; for in the historical parts of scripture we have it expressly recorded, that in the days of Pekah, king of Israel, Tiglath-piliser, king of Assyria, came and took

Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, Hazor, Gilead, and Galilee, together with all the land of Naphthali; and led them away captive into the confines of Assyria. But between that incursion of Tiglath-piliser and the salvation of Judah from the threats of Senach rib there was an event of the first importance, no less than the capture of the metropolis, and f the whole kingdom of Israel, in the ninth year of Hos ea, by Sahlmaneser; who carried away captive the whole population, and placed them on the banks of the Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes. If then the redemption here figuratively set forth under the allegory of a light being seen by the inhabitants of the shadow of death, had been intended as a prediction of the future deliverance of Jerusalem from the army of Senacherib in the reign of pious Hezekiah, and that by way of contrast with the sufferings of the ten tribes under the wicked and idolatrous kings of Samaria; it is reasonable to suppose, that it would have been immediately preceded by some prophetic allusion to the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser, rather than to the partial overthrow by Tiglath-piliser; who but lightly afflicted the provinces of Samaria, and was content to retire upon their agreeing to pay him tribute. This circumstance, I say, renders the supposition, that the prophecy relates to the reign of king-Hezekiah, highly improbable; and affords fair ground for

concluding, that it is one of those sudden and magnificent displays of the glories of the Messias, which so frequently burst forth from the mouth of this prophet. Nay, what is more, in the subsequent chapter, we have a full and particular description of the pride and fall of Senacherib; so that, unless we should maintain, that in both places one and the same event was equally in the contemplation of the prophet, the argument from the context makes more for its application to the Messias, than to king Hezekiah. Nor is it conceivable, how the expression, to us, can relate to this more properly than to that; since whatever emphasis there may be in, to us, that is easily explained by referring it to the Jewish people, to whom the promise of the anointed seed was exclusively made.

That the verbs, is born, and, is given, are of the preterite tense, is no ground for arguing, that the event had already taken place. In the prophetic style, future occurrences are very generally narrated in the past tense; and of this every Jewish expositor must be fully aware. The pasuk, The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light; upon them that dwell in the land of the shadow of death hath the light shined; whether we choose to expound it of the deliverance of Judah from Senacherib, or of the general redemption by means of the Messias; is of itself an

adequate proof of the truth of this assertion. So in the same prophet; Howl, ye ships of Tarshish; for your strength is laid waste. So again; Break forth into joy; sing together, ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem. These examples taken from the same prophet, and all equally relating to future occurrences, plainly demonstrate, that the past form of the verb may have a future signification; and that the language, is born, and, is given, may be expounded as well of the future Messias as of the living Hezekiah. Nor is it necessary to dwell on the remark, that in the promise, that the government should be upon his shoulder, there appears by way of contrast a pointed allusion to the state of vassalage under which Ahaz was held by the Assyrian monarch; for that is a species of proof wholly equivocal; and the remark would equally hold good, whether we should make Hezekiah, or the Messias, or any other future king the subject of the prediction.

But, surely, in the plea, that the phrases, without end, and, for ever, may very well signify full liberty to govern on all sides of him, and that for the term of his natural life; there is much room for censure. It will be difficult, I believe, to find any scripture in which the phrase, yp, without end, has any other import than that of in-

finity, whether of time or space; and, though the phrase, עד עולם, for ever, may once or twice denote a limited duration, as in the instance of Samuel; yet its usual acceptation is literally, to eternity, or, to the end of the world. This one thing I would observe, that, if Isaiah had really intended to declare, that the son given should sit and rule for ever upon the throne of David, he could not have employed fitter and stronger expressions than he has done; and, that the king Messias was thus to sit and rule, is the uniform language of all the prophets. Nay so difficult is it to affix to these expressions any other meaning than the common one, that both Lipman and Alshech have agreed to expound this latter part of the prophecy of the reign of the Messias.

That the fathers, indeed, applied it to Hezekiah, and, that the commentators have somewhat mistaken the sense of the tradition, I have already insinuated. To prove this, I shall produce the tradition itself; which is in Chelek, and to the following effect:* 'ונו אין קא ולשלום אין קא ולו אין ר תנחום דרש בר קפרא בצפורי מפני מה כל מ"ם שבאמצע תיבה פתוחה וזו סתומה בקש הקב"ה לעשות חזקיה משיח וסנחריב גוג ומגוג אמרה מדת הדין לפני הקב"ה רש"בע ומה דוד מלך ישראל שאמר כמה שירות ותושבחות לפניך לא עשיתו משיח חזקיה שעשית לו כל הנסי הללו ולא אמר לפניך שירה תעשה משיח לכך הנסי הללו ולא אמר לפניך שירה תעשה משיח לכך

^{*} Een Yaacob, fol. 124, col. 3.

לסתתם מיד פתחה הארץ ואמר' לפניו רב"שע אני אומר לפניך שירה תחת צדיק זה ועשהו משיח פתחה ואמרה שיר' לפניו שנאמר מכנף האדץ זמירות שמענו צבי לצדיק זגו' אמר שר העולם לפני הק"בה רבש"ע עשה צביונו לצדיק זה יצתה בת קול ואמר' רזי לי רוי לי אמר נביא אוי לי אוי לי עד מתי יצתה בת קול ואומר׳ בוגדים בגדו ובגד בוגדים בגדו ואמר רבא ואיתימא ר' יצחק עד דאתי " To the increase of the govern- : בזחי ובזחי דבוחי ment and to peace there shall be no end, &c. R. Tanchum said, Bar Cophra Saporensis inquired into the reason, why every Mem in the middle of a word should be open, but this closed. The Holy One, blessed be he, desired to make Hezekiah the Messias; and Senacherib, Gog and Magog. The property of judgment said before the Lord; Master of the universe, how is this? David, the king of Israel, who dictated ever so many hymns and glorifications in thy presence, thou madest not the Messias; but Hezekiah, for whom thou hast wrought all those signs, and who never dictated a hymn before thee, thou art going to make the Messias? Therefore it was closed. Immediately the earth opened her mouth, and said before the Master of the universe; I will dictate before thee a hymn instead of this just man, and do thou make him the Messias. She opened her mouth, and dictated a hymn before him according to that which is written, From the extremity of the earth have we heard . verses, even glory for the righteous man, &c.

The Governor of the world said before the Holy One, blessed be he; Master of the universe, give to this just man the honour which he requests. There issued a divine voice and said, My secret is to myself, my secret is to myself. The prophet said, Woe to me, woe to me, how long? The divine voice came forth, and said, The spoilers have spoiled, and the spoil of the spoilers they have spoiled. Rabba said, and it is affirmed, R. Isaac also said, Until there shall come plunderers, and plunderers of the plunderers." Before I proceed to make any remarks on this part of the Gemara, I shall subjoin the gloss of Maharsha, the most luminous of the talmudic expositors:* למרב' המשר' ונו' רוב דברי המאמ' י"ל דדרשו מתוך פסוקים האלו כי ילד ילד לנו וגו' למרב' המשר' וגו' שנבוא' זו נאמר' על חזקיה כמו שכתבו המפרשי' ואמר שאותו הילד היה תחלת המחשב' שבקש הקב"ה לעשותו משיח ותה' המשר' על שכמו ויקרא שמו פלא כו' אלו השמות ראוים להיות במשיח אבל אמר בקטרוגו של מדת הדין לא נתקיימו בו כל אלו המעלות שיהיו במשיח לעתיד רק נתקיים בו למרב' המשרה ולשלום לו מסנחרב אבל אין זה קץ הנאול' שיהיה הוא משיח יושב על כסא דוד ועל ממלכתו וגר' ועד עולם וגר' וזה שהזכיר על כסא דוד שהוא קטרונו של מה" דאיך ישב חזקיה על כסא דוד עד עולם ומה דוד נופיה שאמ' כמה שירות כו' ומסיי' קנאת ה' צבאות תעש' זאת להסכי' בזה בקטרונו של מח" ולכך נסתמה המס" בתחלת דברי הענין של

^{*} Een Yaacob, fol. 124, col. 3, 4.

מה" מם של מרבה לומר לך שנסתם אז קץ הגאולה ואמר שפתחה הארץ כו' ר"ל הארץ הידועה היא ארץ ישראל דכל זמן שישראל בגלות גם הארץ היא תרצה את שבתותי וכאלו היא באבלות בכמה ענינים ע"כ פתחה לומר שירה תחת הצדיע חוקיה שלא תחרב ויהיה חוקיה משיח שיחורו גם י' השתשים שכבר גלו וישבו בארץ לזכות בם בכמה מצות וז"ש זמ רות שמענו ע"ד זמירות היו לי הקיך ונו" ואמר שאמר שר עולם עיין פרש"י וותוס' פרק א"ט ופ"ק דיבמות כתבו שהוא מטט יון ואמ' עשה צב ונו לצדי' ר"ל שהארץ א"י נקרא ארץ צבי ע"ש זה שהיא עושה צביונה של מקום לומר שירה תחת הצדיק וכיוצא בה אמרינן בסוף כתובות ונתתי צבי בארץ החיים ארץ שצביונו בה כו' ואמר רזו לי רזי לי וגו' הכפל בזה עיין במפרשי' ולפי דרש דהכא נרא' לומר דהפ" רזי לי אתחלת המחשבה לעשות חזקיה משיח ורזי לי סוד הגאול' שלא עשיתיו משיח או שאמ' רזי לי רזי לי על ב' החורבנות שיהיו אם לא יהיה חוקיה משיח ואמר הנביא ישעיה אוי לי עד מתי לפי שאותו דור היה כולו זכאי כדאמרי' בפרקין שבדקו מדן ועד באר שבע ולא מצאו ע"ה ואם דור כזה לא יוכה למשיח עד מתי יבא שיהיה דור היותר ראוי לכך ואמר יצתה ב"ק כו' עד דאתי בזוזי דהזוזי כו' עיין פרש"י ובערוך בו פי' באי שודדי' על א"י ובאים שודדים אחרים ושודדים המשודדים וישראל עמהם הבוגדים ריקם תרגום. " To the increase of the govern- בוחים וסריקין עב"ל: ment, &c. The sum of what is here said is, that of those verses of scripture, For unto us a child is born, &c. To the increase of the government, &c. the disquisition was, that this prophecy had been spoken of Hezekiah, according to what commentators have

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written on it; and it is affirmed, that this very child the Lord at the first thought of making the Messias; that the government should be upon his shoulder, and his name called, Wonderful, &c. that he should be called by those names which befit the Messias; but, says he, through the accusation of the property of judgment all those dignified titles which shall be accomplished in the future Messias, were in him unaccomplished; only, to increase the government, and to have peace from Senacherib, were fulfilled in him; though this was not the completion of the redemption, that he should be the Messias, sitting upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, &c. and that for ever, &c. This mention of his sitting upon the throne of David is the cause of the accusation of the property of judgment; why Hezekiah should sit upon the throne of David for ever, and not David himself who had composed ever so many hymns, &c. The prophecy concludes by saying, The zeal of the Lord of hosts shall perform this; thus assenting to the accusation of the property of judgment; and, therefore, in the very beginning of the speech of the property of judgment the Mem is closed, namely, the Mem in, marbe; to give you to understand, that the end of the redemption was then closed or concealed. He, moreover, says, that the earth opened her mouth, &c. that is to say, the celebrated land, the land of Israel; for all the while that Israel is in

captivity, the land is to complete her sabbaths; and, therefore, as though she had been troubled on various accounts, she opened her mouth to dictate a sacred song instead of the righteous Hezekiah; in order that she might not be devastated, that Hezekiah might be the Messias, and that the ten tribes, which had already gone into exile, might return and dwell in the land; so that she might be justified by virtue of the many precepts: and to this effect is the scripture, Songs have we heard; for my songs are thy statutes, &c. He relates, too, that the Governor of the world (concerning whom see the comment of Rashi: in Tosephoth, perek, Elo Tarphoth; and in the first perek of Jebamoth, they write, that he is the Metatron) spoke and said; Grant to this just man the honour which he deserves: that is, for the earth, the land of Israelis called the land of glory, because she performs the glorious pleasure of the Deity in dictating a hymn for the righteous man; and the like our Rabbies say in the close of Chetuboth on the words, I will give glory to the land of the living; to the land, that is, in which is his honour, &c. Moreover, he says, My secret is to myself, my secret is to myself, &c. the expression being doubled; for which see the commentators: though agreeably to the explication here laid down we may say, that of the words, My secret is to myself, the sense is, that I first thought of making Hezekiah the Messias;

but my secret is to myself, to wit, the mystery of the redemption, that I did not make him the Messias: or, it may be, that he says, My secret is to myself, my secret is to myself, in reference to the two devastations which should take place, in case Hezekiah should not be the Messias. But the prophet Isaiah exclaims, Woe to me, how long? For all that generation was righteous, according to what they say in Perakim; that they searched from Dan to Beer-sheba, and found not one illiterate man; and, if a generation like this should not be deserving of the Messias, when would it come to pass, that there should be a generation still more so? Moreover, he says, There came forth a divine voice, &c. Until there shall come the plunderers of plunderers, &c. for which see the comment of Rashi. In Sepher Aruch the explanation is, Plunderers shall come into the land of Israel, and there shall come other plunderers who will plunder the plunderers, and Israel along with them. The targum of, The vain plunderers, is, The spoilers and the empty ones. Thus far Sepher Aruch." Here we have laid before us all that which is connected with the tradition of Bar Kophra; how that the Lord, after having wrought many miracles in favour of Hezekiah, entertained the thought of making him the Messias; that the prophet accordingly began to describe him in the character of the Messias; but that in consequence of the expos-

tulation of the property of judgment the design was rendered abhortive; and as a proof, that the mystery of the redemption was not to be revealed in the person of Hezekiah, the Mem, in, marbe, was suddenly closed, as though this secret of the divine counsel should transpire no further. Two things we certainly collect from the tradition; that this prophecy was spoken of Hezekiah, not as the son of Ahaz, nor as the king of Judah; but as the future Messias: and, that, as he was not the Messias, the terms of it received no accomplishment in him; but still apply and belong to that person only for whose sake it was delivered. This, I say, is the necessary conclusion from the words of the Gemara. I am truly surprised, therefore, that in their comments on this scripture the modern expositors should have so basely copied one another; and persisted in an interpretation diametrically opposed to the tradition of their fathers.

That it was anciently expounded of the Messias, is apparent from the targum of Jonathan: אמר ביא לבית דוד ארי רבי אתיליד לנא בר אתיהב לנא וקביל אוריתא עלוהי למטרה ואתקרי שמיה מן קדם מפליא עצה אלהא גברא קים לעלמיא משיחא דשלמא יסגי עלנא ביומוהי: סגי רבו לעבדי אוריתא ולנטרי שלמא לית סוף על כורסיה דוד ועל מלכותיה לאתקנא יתה ולמבנא בדינא ובזכותא מכען ועד עלמא במימדא דיי צבאות תתעבד דא: The prophet said to the house of תתעבד דא: Behold, a child is born to us, a son is given

to us; and he hath taken upon him the law to keep it; and his name by the Wonderful in Counsel, Mighty Deity, Eternally Subsisting, is called the Messias in whose days peace shall abound amongst us. There shall be no end of the augmentation of honour to the servants of the law, and to the maintainers of peace, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it and build it up in judgment and in righteousness henceforth and for ever. By the Word of the Lord of Hosts shall this thing be performed." The antiquity of this targum is unquestionably high; and as it is clearly supported by the language of the Gemara, I may well submit it to the candid and impartial inquirer after truth, whether for the exclusive application of the prophecy to the Messias, I have not the countenance and sanction of the ancient Jewish church.

Moreover, in justification of the renderings here adopted, I would just observe, that, though by the paraphrast the titles, Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty Hero, Everlasting Father, are ascribed to Jehovah, and Prince of Peace only to the son given; and that in this he is followed by Jarchi, Kimchi, Lipman, and Alshech; yet by the Septuagint translators, who were Jews both by birth and education, and much older even than Jonathan himself; by the fathers in *Chelek*, in that they denominate Hezekiah from this very scripture the lord

of eight names; by Maharsha in the comment above cited, by Aben Ezra, and by Abarbinel in more places than one, they are all ascribed to the son given; and in this I fully coincide with them as giving the free and unbiassed construction of the sacred text. I do not, indeed, accord with the latter expositors in accommodating the sense of the names to the history of the life of Hezekiah; because they have considered that prince as the subject of the prediction: whereas I expound it of a far more exalted personage, of the king Messias; to whom as the Jewish church does not scruple to give the name of Jehovah; so neither do I hesitate to ascribe to him the godlike titles of, Wonderful Counsellor, and Everlasting Father, in the same literal and unqualified manner that I do, Mighty Hero, and, Prince of Peace. For, if we are to call him, Mighty Hero, in consideration of his gallant exploits; and, Prince of Peace, on account of his procuring peace; analogy certainly requires, that we should name him, Wonderful Counsellor, because of his miraculous policy; and, Everlasting Father, on account of his eternal subsistency. In adjusting this point, the Septuagint version is certainly of some moment. Οτι παιδιον εγεννηθη ημιν, υιος και εδοθη ημιν, ε η αρχη εγεννηθη επι τε ωμε αυτε, και καλειται το ονομα αυτε, Μεγαλης βελης αγγελος. αξω γαρ ειρηνην επι τες αρχοντας, και υγιειαν αυτω. Μεγαλη η αρχη αυτε, και της ειρηνης αυτε εκ εστιν

οριον επι τον Βρονον Δαυιδ, και την βασιλειαν αυτε; κατορθωσαι αυτην, και αντιλαβεσθαι εν κριματι και εν δικαιοσυνή, απο τε νυν και εις τον αιωνα ο ζήλος Κυριε σαβαωθ ποιησει ταυτα. "For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us; whose government is upon his shoulder, and whose name is called. Angel of the great council: for I will bring upon the rulers peace and health through him. His rule is great, and of his peace there is no limit, upon the throne of David and his kingdom, to correct it, and to establish it in judgment and in rightcous ness, from this time and for ever. The zeal of the Lord Sabaoth shall perform these things." For the substantive, אבי, father, their copies seem to have had the verb, אביא, I will bring; though how from the remaining terms they were enabled to make out their sentence, I am somewhat at a loss to discover. Thus much, however, is apparent: that with them, יועץ, Wonderful Counsellor, was the name of the child; and this name they have rendered by, Angel of the great council. notion, therefore, of such a personage as, the angel of the great council, must have been familiar to the Jews of that age; and as this is no other than the Metatron of the talmudists, in whose heavenly court all causes requiring rigid justice are said to be adjudged, we hence derive no bad argument for the high antiquity of this part of the Jewish cabbala.

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But there is another rendering for which, with the readers of Abarbinel, it may seem necessary to apologise. The verb, יקרא, here the third person future in Kal, he shall call, I have translated as as though it had been pointed for the third person future in Niphal, he shall be called; and this I have done not with any intention of altering the sense, but for the sake of substituting for that in the original a somewhat more plain and familiar construction. In the Hebrew it is well known, that of certain common verbs, and of this one in particular, the third person future in Kal is often used impersonally; and in that situation it is always found more convenient to turn it into another language by the future passive, with the object converted into the subject, and so made to precede it. Thus in Jeremiah we read of the Messias; And this is his name which he shall call him, that is, according to the great body of Jewish expositors, which people shall call him, 'or, which he shall be called. Nay, in the instance before us, Jonathan ben Uziel has taken the same liberty with myself, his targum being, And his name is called; so that any objection to my translation on this ground would be a mere cavil, and unworthy of the name of a Rabbinical scholar.

The prediction altogether is highly descriptive of the birth, office, and majesty of the promised Messias; foretelling the gradual extension of his kingdom upon the throne of David, and containing, as I think, no obscure intimations of the divinity of his power, and of the eternity of his existence.

CHAPTER XIV.

In the Scripture which follows, there is another remarkable prediction of the Messias; and that from the same prophet:* ויצא חטר מגוע ישי ונצר משרשיו יפרה: ונחה עליו רוח יהוה רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויהאת יהוה: והריחו ביראת יהוה ולא למראה עיניו ישפוט ולא למשמע אזניו יוכיה: ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח במישור לענוי ארץ והכה ארץ בשבט פיו וברוח שפתיו ימית רשע: והיה צדק אזור מתניו והאמונה אזור חלציו: וגר זאב עם כבש ונמר עם גדי ירבץ ועגל וכפיר ומריא יחדו ונער קטן נהג בם: ופרה ודב תרעינה יחדו ירבצו ילדיהן ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן: ושעשע יונק על חר פתן ועל מאורת צפעוני נמול ידו הדה: לא ירעו ולא ישחיתו בכל הר קדשי כי מלאה הארצ דעה את יהוה כמים לים מכסים: והיה ביום ההוא שרש ישי אשר עמד לנס עמים אליו גוים ידרשו "There shall come forth a :והיתה מנחתו כבוד: rod from the stem of Jesse; and a shoot shall grow out of his roots. The spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding,

the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah. He shall be made to have a perception of the fear of Jehovah; and shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears. But he shall judge the poor with righteousness, and reprove the humble of the earth with equity; and shall smite the earth with the sceptre of his mouth, and slav the wicked with the breath of his lips. Righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faith the girdle of his reins. The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the panther shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. The heifer and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. The sucking child shall play upon the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall put his hand over the den of the adder. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Jehovah, as the waters which cover the sea. In that day there shall be a root of Jesse who shall stand up for an ensign of the people; to him shall the Gentiles seek, and his rest shall be glorious." This prophecy, so far as I know, all the expositors, with the exception of R Moses Cohen, apply to the Messias Indeed, Aben Ezra may be deemed neutral; for after having premised, that R. Moses Cohen expounds it of

Hezekiah, but the main body of commentators of the king Messias, he seems to treat it as a matter of indifference to which of the two it should be actually applied.

It is thus expounded of the Messias by Jonathan the paraphrast : ויפוק מלכא מבנוהי דישי ומשיחא מבני בנוהי יתרבי: ותשרי עלוהי רוח נבואה מן קדם יי רוח חוכמא וסוכלתנו רוח מלך וגבורא רוח מדע ודחלתא דיי: ויקרבניה לדחלתיה יי לא לחיזו עינוהי יהי דאן ולא למשמע אודנוהי יהי מוכח: וידין בקושטא מסכנין ויוכח בהימנותא מחשיכי עמא דארעא וימחי חיבי ארעא במימר פומיה ובממלל ספותיה יהי ממית ארמילוס רשיעא: ויהון צדיקיא סחור סחור ליה ועבדי הימנותא מקרבין ליה: בימוהי דמשיחא דישראל יסגי שלמא בארעא וידור דיבא עם אמרא ונמרא עם גדיא ישרי ועגלא ואריה ופטים כחדא ויניק זעיר יהי מדבר להון: ותורתא ודיבא ירעין כחדא ישרון בניהון ואריה כתורא יכול תבנא: ויחיך ינקא על חור חזי פתן ועל חיזו גלגלי עיני חוי חורמן חסילא ידוהי יושיט: לא יבאשון ולא יחבלון בכל טורא דקודשי ארי תתמלי ארעא למדע ית דחלתא דיי כמיא דלימא חפן: ויהי בעדנא ההיא בר בריה דישי עתיד דיקום את לעממיא ליה מלכון ישתמעון "There shall come : ויהי אתר בית מישרוהי ביקר forth from the children of Jesse the king; and from the children of his children there shall grow up the Messias. The spirit of prophecy from Jehovah shall dwell upon him; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and might; the spirit of knowledge and fear of Jehovah. Jehovah shall hold him acceptable because of his fear; he

shall not judge according to the sight of his eyes; neither shall he reprove according to the hearing of his ears. But he shall judge the poor with truth, and reprove the obscure of the people of the earth with fidelity; and shall smite the wicked of the earth with the word of his mouth; and with the speech of his lips shall he slay the impious Armilus. The righteous shall surround him; and faithful servasts shall attend him. In the days of the Messias or Israel peace shall abound in the earth; and the wolf shall stable with the lamb, and the panther shall dwell with the kid; and the calf, and the lion, and the fatling together; and a suckling child shall be their leader. The heifer and the bear shall pasture; their young shall live together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox. The suckling shall play upon the hole of the asp; and the weaned child shall extend his hands over the sight of the pupils of the eyes of the adder. They shall not do harm, nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the fear of Jehovah, like as the waters that cover the sea. There shall be at that time a son of the son of Jesse, who shall stand up an ensign for the peoples; kings shall obey him, and the place of the house of his habitation shall be with glory." By the fathers in Bernidbar Rabba, and in Medrash Ruth Rabba:**

^{*} Medrash Rabboth, fol. 209, col. 3; and Med. Ruth Rabba, fol. 34, col. 4.

למה עתודים מלא והוא יתר ואו כנגד ו' בנים שהיו מנחשון בעלי שש ברכות ואלו הן דוד משיח דניאל חנניה מישאל ועזריה דוד דכתיב יודע נכן וגו' משיה דכתיב ונחה עליו רוח אי רוח חכמה ובינה הרי תרין רוח עצה וגבורה הרי ד' רוח דעת ויראת י' הרי ו' דניאל חנגיה מישאל ועיריה מנין דכתיב ויהי בהם מבני יהודה דניאל חנניה וגו' ילדים אשר אין בהם כל מום ומשכינים בכל הכמה וגו': Why " is, עתודים, here written fully, with the Vau extraordinary? In answer to the six sons descended from Nachshon, lords of six blessings; namely, David, Messias, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Hazarieh. David according to that which is written of him, Expert at playing, &c. The Messias according to that which is written of him, And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding; here we have two: the spirit of counsel and might; here we have four: the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; here we have six. Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah whence proved? According to that which is written of them, And there was amongst the children of Judah, Daniel, Hananiah, &c. youths in whom there was no blemish, and who were skilled in every department of wisdom, and so forth." In Zohar Chadash:* רבי רחומא פתח ונחה עליו רוח ה' רוח חכמה ובינה רוח עצה וגבורה רוח דעת ויראת ה' הא הכא ארבע רוחות י R. Ra- : ולא זכה בהם אדם זולתי מלך המשיח בלבד

^{*} Fol. 48, col. 1.

choma opened his mouth, and said, And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and might; the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord: behold here four spirits; and no man worthy of them except the king Messias only." By R. Solomon Jarchi:* זיצא דוושר מגוע ישי ואם תאמרו הרי תנחומין לחזקיהו ועמו שלא יפלו בידו ומה תהא על הגולה אשר הגלה בחלח וחבור שמא אבד סברם לא אבד סוף שיבא מלך המשיח ויגאלם: " And there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse: and should ye say, Lo, there is consolation for Hezekiah and his people, that they shall not fall by his hand; but what is to become of the captivity that is in exile in Chalach, and Chabor; perhaps there is no hope for them? They are not entirely lost; for the king Messias shall come, and redeem them." By R. David Kimchi :+ זיצא חטר סמד פרשה זו שהיא עתידה לימות המשיח להבטחה שהיתה בימי חזקיהו אמר אל תתמהו על פלא גדול כזה שיעשה בימי חזקיהו במפלת מחנ' אשור ברגע אחד כי עוד יעשה לישראל פלא גדול מזה בימות המשיח שיהיה לישראל בקבוץ גליו' וזה יהיה ממשפחת המלך חזקיהו וזכר ישי לפי " There shall come forth : שממנו יצא המלך הראשון a rod: This section of scripture, which is to be fulfilled in the days of the Messias, he annexes to the promise which was accomplished in the days of Hezekiah. Be not astonished, says he, at so pro-

^{*} Com. in loc. + Com. in loc.

digious a wonder as that which is going to be performed in the days of Hezekiah by the fall of the Assyrian camp at a single instant of time; for there shall be wrought for Israel a still greater prodigy than this in the days of the Messias on the gathering of the captivity; which Messias shall be of the family of Hezekiah, the king; though Jesse is mentioned, because from him came the first king." By R. Bechai, as well in a passage before cited as in this:* 'ה רוח של ונחה שלי ומשיח של למלך המשיח שנ' ונחה עליו רוח ה "But the :'תור היבעת ובינ' וגו' רוח דעת ויראת ה' whole three of them, that is, wisdom, understanding, and knowledge, shall be given to the king Messias, according to that which is said, And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, &c. the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord." R. Lipman : † גם בזה כשלו הנוצרים ודרשו על הנוצרי באמרם שממשפחת דוד בא והביאו סוף הפרשה לראייה שנ' שורש ישי אשר עומד לנס עמים ומפרשים נס לשון אות ונצר מפרשים מלשון הנוצרי ולפי שתופסים רק אות אחת ופוקרים וממקצת בני עמינו נעלמים הפסוקים הגלוים אצטרך לבארו שכל אותה הפרשה מדברת במלך המשיח ואדרבה מתוכה אוכיח שלא בא משיח עדיין כי האותות המפורשים שמה לא באו שנא' וגר זאב עם כבש וגו' ואריה כבקר יאכל תבן וגו' ושעשע יונק על חור פתן וגו' אף אם משל המה שהרי אין שלום ליוצא ולבא ועוד דכתיב זנחה עליו רוח ה' וגו' עד רוח דעת ויראת ה' ואיך יפרשו זה

* Com. in Pent. fol. 116, col. 3. † Com. in local

על הנוצרי הלא אומרים שהוא אלהיהם ועוד מפורש בהדיא בפרשה שעל נאולת יהודה וישראל יבא אותו מלך שנא' והיה ביום ההוא יוסיף אדני שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו וגו' עד ונשא נס לגוים ואסף נדחי ישראל ונפוצות יהודה יקבץ מארבע כנפות הארץ וגו' והחרים ה' את לשון ים מצרים והניף ידו על הנהר בעים רוחו והכהו לשבעה נחלים והדריך בנעלים והיתה מסילה לשאר עמו אשר ישאר כאשר היתה לישראל ביום עלותו מארץ מצרים הרי שבאותו היום יהיה הגאולה וילכו במנעלים דרך הים והנחל ביבשה וזה לא נעשה עדיין וגם מפורש לעיל נס העמים שהוא לקיבוץ גוליות לשון דגל והרי מפרשים פירשו נצר לשון נוצרי וחבל על עצמם מבסמוך שכתוב ואתה השלכת מקברך כנצר נתעב ואיך יפרשו זה על אלהיהם ועוד שכבר פירשתי בפרשת בראשית בסימן ח' שאם ירצו לומר שהנוצרי בא ממשפחת דוד צריכים להודות שיוסף הוא אביו: "The Christians likewise stumble upon this prophecy, and expound it of Christ, saying, that he came of the family of David; and for proof allege that which is written at the close of the section, The root of Jesse which shall stand up for an ensign of the peoples. The term, or, standard, they take in the acceptation of, אות, a sign; and, נצר, a shoot, they identify with the etymology of, הנוצרי, the Christ of Nazareth. But as they lay hold of one single sign only, and pervert the truth; and as these verses, though plain in themselves, are ill understood by some of our people; I deem it incumbent upon me to illustrate the prophet by stating, that the whole section is spoken of the

king Messias; and that from it I shall, on the contrary, prove, that the Messias has not yet come. For the signs there set forth have never taken place, according to the words of the scripture; And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, &c. And the lion shall eat straw like an ox, &c. And the sucking child shall play upon the hole of the asp, &c. not even should you interpret them figuratively; for, lo, there is no peace to the world. Moreover, as to the scripture, And there shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah, &c. as far as, The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord; how will they expound it of the Nazarene, and at the same time maintain, that he is their god? So again, in this section, it is clearly stated, that the same king shall come for the redemption of both Israel and Judah, as it is said, And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand again the second time to recover the remnant of his people, &c. as far as. And he shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel, and shall gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four wings of the earth, &c. And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall ke shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make them ford it with their shoes; and there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people that shall be left, as there

was for Israel in the day that they came up out of the land of Egypt. Behold, on the very day that the redemption is to be, they are to walk with their shoes across the sea and the river dry; whereas this has never yet taken place. Moreover, the ensign of the peoples is explained above as being for the gathering together of the captivity, and as signifying a military standard. It is worthy of remark, too, that their expositors, in making, נצר, a branch, and, נוצרי, Christ, have the same import; they have made a rod for their own backs, in that it is written afterwards, But thou art cast out of thy grave, like the abominable branch. How will they expound this of their god? Besides, as I have already observed in the first section of Genesis, chapter the eighth; if they choose to say, that Christ came of the family of David, they will be obliged to confess, that Joseph was his father." By R. Isaac זכר הנביא בנבואה הזאת עשרה תוארים *: Abarbinel שימצאו במלך המשיח והם תנאים הכרחיים במלכותו ובנאולה העתיד' שמבלתם אי אפשר שיהיה הוא משיח "The prophet : ולא שתקרא נאולתו נאולה אמתית in this prediction commemorates ten attributes which shall be found in the king Messias; and these are all necessary conditions of his kingdom and of the future redemption; without which it is not possible that he can be the Messias, or that his redemption can be called the true one." By

^{*} Com. in loc.

R. Moses Alshech:* ונחה עליו רוח ה' לא כשלמה שרוח ה' נראתה עליו בנבעון פעמים ולא נחה בו כי אח"כ לא התנבא מאז הרבה נשי' אך משיח ונחה עליו תמצא בו מנוח רוח ה' ותתמיד בו תמיד כי שלם יהיה "The spirit of Jehovah shall rest :בכל חלקיו upon him; not as Solomon, unto whom the spirit of Jehovah appeared at times in Gibeon, but stayed not with him; for he never prophesied any more after that he multiplied his wives: but upon the Messias it shall rest; there shall be found in him a resting of the spirit of Jehovah, and it shall be with him continually; for he shall be perfect in all his parts." By R. Joseph Gallus:+ אמנם נראה לומר שלא אמרו שמלך המשיח לא יקבל הגרי׳ רק אין מקבלין גרים ר"ל-כל שאר בתי דינים אין מקבלין גרים לימות המשיח יען אפשר שכוונתם שלא לשמה אבל מלך משיחנו שנחה עליו רוח ה' ולא למראה עיניו ישפום כי האד' יראה לעיני' וה' ירא' ללבב ככה מלך המשיח שנח' עליו רוח ה' ולו יהיו גלויין תעלומות לב ויודע הבא לשמ' ודאי שיקבל גרים וזה שאמר כי באחרית הימי' יאמרו לכו ונעלה אל הר ה' ואל בית אלהי יעקב ויורנו מדרכיו ונלכה באורחותיו ומלך המשיח יקבל יען ושפט בין הגוי' יש לו כח לשפוט מה בין תוך קרבם ולבם ווהו ושפט בין הגוים ולכן והוכי' לעמי' רבי' שיראה בהם שלבם ותוכ' כברם וכוונת' לשמי' יוכיח אות' ולשאר ירחיקם יען ונחה עליו רוח ה' רוח חכמה ובינה וכו' והריחו ביראת ה' ולא למראה עיניו ישפוט ולא למשמע "But it seems to me, they did not : אוניו יוכידו וכו':

^{*} Com, in loc. † Yad Yoseph, fol. 135, col. 4.

mean, that the king Messias will not receive any proselytes; but only that they, that is, the other courts will not admit proselytes in the days of the Messias, because of the possibility of their acting from impure motives: but as to our king Messias himself, of whom it is said, The spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him; and that he shall not judge by the sight of his eyes; for man regardeth the eves, but God regardeth the heart; so the king Messias on whom the spirit of the Lord shall rest, and to whom the secrets of the heart shall be disclosed, and who will know him that cometh from pure motives; he, doubtless, will receive proselytes. To this purpose is the scripture, that in the latter days they shall say, Come, let us go up to the mount of Jehovah, and unto the house of the God of Jacob; and he shall teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. The king Messias will admit proselytes, because being the judge amongst the Gentiles he has power to discern what is in their inward parts and in their hearts, as is intimated by the scripture, And he shall judge amongst the nations; and therefore he shall reprove many peoples, because he will look into what is in their hearts and inward parts; according to their purity and intentions he will reprove them; and the rest he will remove from him, because that upon him rests the spirit of Jehovah, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, &c. and he shall have a quick per-

ception of the fear of the Lord; and shall not judge according to the sight of his eyes, nor reprove according to the hearing of his ears, &c." In producing the authorities of Jarchi, Kimchi, Abarbinel, and Alshech, I have merely furnished so many of their words as may suffice to shew, that they expound the prophecy of the king Messias. Their commentaries in full would have been too prolix to be embodied in this chapter; and especially that of Abarbinel, which is extremely diffusive, containing a long enumeration of the godlike attributes and perfections which are to characterize the Messias, and applying to him the whole section in all its parts; none of which he will allow to have had their accomplishment either in Hezekiah or in any other king that ever ruled in Judea. The comment, however, of R. Lipman I have given at full length, in order to afford a specimen of those objections which are usually opposed to the Messiaship of Jesus, by the advocates of the Jewish faith. Much of the objectional matter has arisen from a misconception on his own part of the doctrine of the incarnation; and as to that which is otherwise, this is not the place for furnishing a complete answer; the design here being not to defend the application of the prophecy to the person of Jesus Christ, but to evince the propriety of its being understood of the Messias.

The language of this scripture being perfectly

clear, there arises little or no ambiguity as to the sense of the terms; certainly nothing at all which can be supposed to affect the question between the Christian and the Jew. The charge of R. Lipman, that we have attempted to construe a military standard into the sign of the cross, is a most groundless imputation; for, though the Latin version of Jerome gives, signum; yet that is the proper rendering for, banner, or, standard; and in that sense it is in which all Christians of any name have uniformly understood it. Some difference of opinion, however, may reasonably exist as to the question, whether certain parts ought to be taken literally or figuratively; whether by the Messias smiting the earth with the sceptre of his mouth, and slaying the wicked with the breath of his lips, we are to conclude, that he shall literally exercise that miraculous power; or, that it is only an hyperbolical expression of the authority of his commands; and, whether by the voluntary and peaceful association of wild with tame, and of noxious with harmless animals, we are to understand an actual cessation of the natural ferocity of brutes; or only a mere change from war to peace, from a state of hostility to that of harmony and friendship amongst the inhabitants of the earth. they are capable of a literal interpretation, is the more general opinion of Jewish expositors; though there have been some, as Kimchi himself

acknowledges, who explained them figuratively. The comment of Abarbinel is strongly in favour of the literal sense; and, as his language on one point makes much for the divine character of the Messias, I shall lay it before the reader: התואר והתנאי הששי הוא בענין הנסים והנפלאות שיעשה מלך הנושיח כנגד הטבע כי מפני דבקותו בשי"ת יעשה אותות ומופתים בשמים ובארץ וכבר נבא הנביא יואל שבזמן הגאול' תתרבה הנבואה והנסים בקרב הארץ שנא' והיה אחרי כן אשפוך את רוחי על כל בשר ונבאו בניכם ובנותיכם זקניכם חלומות יחלומון ובחוריכ' חזיונות יראו וגם על העבדים ועל השפחות בימים ההמה אשפוך את רוחי ונתתי מופתים בשמים ובאר'ן וגומר וראוי היה להיות כן לפי ששני החסדים האלה עשה הש"י עם עמו להפליא והם הא' בתתו להם נבואתו לא עשה כן לכל גוי וכמו שדרשו על ונפליני אני ועמך בקש משה שלא ישרה הק"בה נבואתו אלא על ישראל והב' במעשה הנפלאות וכמו שיעדו כנגד כל עמך אעשה נפלאות וכאשר בית קדשנו ותפארתנו היה לשרפת אש נעדרו ממנו שניהם וכמו שאמר המתרעם על זה אותותינו לא ראינו אין עוד נביא וגומר ולכן היה משורת הדין שבשוב ה' את שיבת ציון ישובו שני הדברים ההמה לקדמותם רוצה לומר הנבואה והנפלאות ולכן אחרי שיעד הנביא בכאן על נבואת מלך המשיח ייעד שיעשו נסים ונפלאות והוא אמרו והכה ארץ בשבט פיו וברו' שפתיו ימית רשע רוצה לומר שכאשר תמרוד ארץ מה במצות מלך המשיח לא יצטרך לאסוף חיל ללכת להלחם בה כי הוא בשבט פיו יכה אותה מכה רבה מבלי חרב וחנית ואם איש אח' יחטא ויצטרך כפי הדין להמיתו באחת ממיתות Vol. IL

ב"ד לא יצטרכו אנשים וכלים לעשותו כי הוא עצמו ברוח שפתיו ימית הרשע ההוא ויענישהו כי בהיותו גוזר על גוי ועל ממלכה או על איש מיוחד שימות תרד אש מן השמים וישרפהו או תבקע האדמ' ותבלע אותו או ימיתהו האריד: והנחש ושאר הדברים משלוחי ההשנחה כמו שהיה ענין אליהו שאמר תרד אש מן השמים ותאכל אותך ואת חמישיך וכן באלישע ויקללם בשם ה' ותצאנה שתים דובים מן היער וכן אמרו במדרש אומרים למשיח מדינה פלונית מרדה בך והוא אומר יבא גובאי ויתריב אותה והתנאי הזה גם כן מבואר שלא היה בזמן בית שני כי לא נעשו שמה נסים ונפלאות ילא מתו הפריצים ברוח פי המלך אשר שם: "The sixth property and condition is in respect of the signs and wonders which the king Messias shall perform in a preternatural way; for, in consideration of his union with the Deity, he shall work signs and prodigies both in the heavens and in the earth. So the prophet, Joel, had already predicted, that at the time of the redemption, prophecy and signs should be multiplied in the midst of the earth; as it is said, And it shall be after this, I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daugters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions; and upon the men-servants, too, and maid-servants in those days, will I pour out my spirit; and I will shew prodigies in the heavens and on the earth, and so forth. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that it should be so; for in two acts of grace the Lord

dealt with his people so as to render them marvellous; first, in giving them his prophecy, which he did not do to any other people; and, as it is said in the Medrash on the words, So we shall be separated, I and thy people; that Moses sought, that the Lord should not cause his prophecy to rest but with Israel only: and secondly, in the performance of miracles, as it is testified, Before all thy people will I perform miracles. But when our holy and beautiful temple was abandoned to the flames, we were deprived of these two things; and as the inspired penman, murmuring about this, says, Our signs we do not see, there is no longer any prophet, &c. For this reason it is but fair, that, when the Lord shall cause to return the captivity of Zion, those two things should return before them, that is to say, prophecy and miracles: and hence it is, that after the prophet has here testified concerning the prophecy of the king Messias, he promises, that signs and wonders shall be wrought, saying, And he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked; meaning, that when the earth shall at all rebel against the command of the king Messias, he shall not be under the necessity of collecting an army to wage war with it; for he shall smite at by the rod of his mouth with a mighty destruction, without either sword or spear: and, if any man sin, and it be necessary according to law to put him to

death by one of the legal modes of capital punishment, there shall be no need of men and instruments to execute him; as he himself, by the breath of his lips, shall slay that wicked person, and inflict the punishment on him; for upon his decreeing against a nation, or against a kingdom, or against an individual, that he shall die, there shall come down fire from heaven to consume him; or the earth shall open and swallow him up; or else the lion, or the serpent, or some other thing sent by providence, shall kill him; as was the case with Elijah, who said, Let there fire come down from heaven, and consume thee, and thy fifty; as also with Elisha, And he cursed them in the name of Jehovah; and there came forth two bears out of the wood. So likewise in the Medrash it is said; They shall say to the Messias, Such a province hath rebelled against thee: but he will reply, Let the locust come, and lay it waste. Now it is certain, that this condition was not to be found during the time of the second temple; for there were neither signs nor miracles wrought then, nor did the wicked die by the breath of the mouth of the king that was at that time." The other characteristics of his person and reign, as deduced from this scripture by Abarbinel, are, that he shall be of the family and seed of David, that he shall be possessed of the very highest degree of prophecy, עד שמפני נבואתו יהיה יודע סתרי לבות בני אדם, so as thereby to know the inmost

thoughts of the human heart, and to transcend even Moses himself in his character of a prophet: that his powers of mind, his wisdom, and understanding, shall be wholly perfect, and exempt from error; that he shall be without sin, כובש את יצרו תנבדל ונפרש מכלל תאוות הגשמיות, bringing under subjection the evil principle of the heart, and indulging in none of his sensual appetites; that he shall follow after righteousness and judgment, giving true decision in all causes without any liability to be misled like other judges by the testimony of false evidence; that in his reign there shall be universal peace throughout the world; that the Gentile nations as well as the Jews shall seek unto him, and pay him allegiance; that he shall gather together out of captivity the ten tribes, together with the house of Judah; and that in the accomplishment of this great work there shall be signs and prodigies wrought truly amazing and astonishing in the sight of mankind. That all this is deducible from the prophecy before us, and must constitute at least a part of the character of the Messias, I fully accord with this celebrated author.

CHAPTER XV.

Though in my own individual opinion the prediction which I am going to allege next might very fitly and truly be expounded of Jacob or Israel, as the chosen of God, and I could readily acquiesce in the interpretation of R. Solomon Jarchi to that effect; yet as we have the most undeniable authorities for expounding it of the Messias; and, as there is nothing in it which might seem to determine it to the one rather than to the other; but, on the contrary, the whole is highly applicable to the character of the Messias; I shall, therefore, give it a place in this selection:* הן עבדי אתמך בו בחרי רצתה נפשי נתתי רוחי עליו משפט לגוים יוציא: לא יצעק ולא ישא ולא ישמיע בחוץ קולו: קנה רצוץ לא ישבור ופשתה כהה לא יכבנה לאמת יוציא משפט: לא יכחה ולא ירוץ עד ישים בארץ משפט ולתורתו " Behold my servant on whom I sup- איים ייחלו: port myself; my elect in whom my soul is well pleased: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment unto the Gentiles. He shall not bawl, nor call aloud; neither shall he cause his voice to be heard in the street. The bruised reed he shall not break, and the smoking flax he shall not quench; according to truth shall he bring forth judgment. He shall not turn languid, nor

^{*} Isai, xlii, 1.

stagger, until that he shall have placed judgment in the earth; and that the isles shall wait for his law." It is applied to the Messias by Jonathan ben Uziel: אקרבניה בחירי דאתרעי ביה מימרי אתן רוחא דקודשי עלוהי דיני לעממין יגלי: לא יצוח ולא יכלי ולא ירים לברא קליה: ענותניא דאנון דמן לקניא רעיע לא יתברון וחשיכיא דכבוצין עמי לא יטפון לקושטא יפיק דינא: לא ילהי ולא ילאי עד דיתקן "Behold my :בארעא דינא ולאוריתיה נגון יכתרון servant, the Messias, in whom I acquiesce; my elect in whom my word is well pleased. I will put my holy spirit upon him; he shall manifest my judgment unto the Gentiles. He shall not bawl, nor spend himself; nor shall he raise his voice abroad. The humble, likened to the bruised reed, shall not be broken; and the poor, resembling the fine linen which is turned brown, shall not be extinguished: according to truth shall he bring forth judgment. He shall not tire, nor become weary, until he shall have established judgment in the earth; and the isles shall wait for his law." By R. David Kimchi:* הן עבדי זהו מלך המשיח כמו " Behold my servant, that is, the king : שפּירשנו Messias, as we have interpreted it." By R. Isaac יש מפרשי' זאת הפרשה על צדיקי 'Abarbinel: ישראל והגאון רבינו סעדיה פירשה בפי מה שהגיד ה"ר אברהם אבן עזרא על כורש וה"ר אברהם פירש אותה על הנבי' שעל עצמו היה אומר הן עבדי אתמוך בו * Com. in loc. + Com. in loc.

ונומה ונראה שכל אלה החכמים הוכו בסנורים ולא ראו שהכתובי' האלה כולם אי אפשר לפרשם כפי הסבר' הישרה כי אם על מלך ישראל מבית דוד וענינ' שלפי שוכר למעלה שממורח יקרא בשמו ויבא בא לבאר עתה מי הוא זה אשר יבא ממזרח ויקרא בשם ה' ומה תאריו ועניגיו וזכר ממנו תאר ראשון והוא שיהיה בחיר ה' ואהוב לפניו ושיהיה יושב על כסא דוד עבד ה' וכאלו אמר הן עבדי דוד שהוא הנקרא כן גם עתה אתמוך בו כי באיש מזרעו אבחר לנגיד וזהו המשיח והוא יהיה אותו דוד בחירי שרצתה נפשי בו כשהמלכתיו על ישראל ונתתי רוהי עליו כמו שאמר רוח ה' דבר בי: Some expositors have interpreted this section of the righteous Israelites; and R. Saadias Gaon, according to what R. Abraham ben Ezra has related of him, expounds it of Cyrus; whilst R. Abraham expounds it of the prophet, who says of himself, Behold my servant on whom I support myself, and the rest. But, surely, all these great men must have been smitten with blindness not to perceive the impossibility of rightly expounding all those scriptures of any except of some king of Israel of the house of David. The narrative having stated above, that he should call upon his name from the East, and should come, goes on now to explain who he is that should come from the East, and call upon the name of Jehovah; what his attributes and his offices may be. The first attribute which it affirms of him, is, that he shall be the elect of Jehovali, and dear to him; and that he shall sit upon the

throne of David, the servant of Jehovah; as though it had said, Behold my servant David, who is so called, I will even now support myself upon him; for the man that is of his seed I will choose for a leader; and this is the Messias, who shall be David himself, mine elect, in whom my soul took pleasure at the time that I made him king over Israel; and I put my spirit upon him, as the scripture saith, The spirit of Jehovah hath spoken by me."* By R Moses Alshech: שמרוב שמרוב מלך המשיח שמרוב צדקו הוא מרכבה אלי ווהו אתמוך בו כי בחרתיו מכל מלאכי מכרבתי והיה בחירי מאז רצתה נפשי כי עדיין לא הי' לו רק נפש ואותה נפש שהוא שלי רצתה בו כי השלימה ואז נתתי רוחי עליו שהוא רוח הבא אחר שלמות הנפש והנה זה לא הכינותיו ללמד משפט את ישר' ולהכשיר את מעשיה' כי אם משפט לגוי' יוציא אך ישר' צריך ישתלמו בכשרון מטרם יבא הוא אחר שכל הנשאר בציון והנותר בירושלם קדוש יאמר לו ושמא תאמר האם כל השלמות הגדול ההוא צריך להוציא משפט לגוים דע כי לא יצעק כו' והוא כי יש דיין שלהוציא הדין לאמתו צריך לעשות המצאות בל יהיה רמאות בדבר א' לצעוק ולאיים את הבעל דין או דרך ב' והוא שאם רוא' אחד שיש בו רעוע מה ישברנו למען השאר ישמעו וייראו וכן אם רואה אדם מטה למות והוא ראוי לעונש קל ממות על עון בצעו ישפטנו משפט מות ומצוה להמיתו למען הטיל אימה על הנשארים שישמעו וייראו ולא יחוש על המיתו הבלתי בן מות באומ' כי הלא מאליו היח מת כי

The state of the Com. in loc.

כבר נטה למות אמר כי אחד משלש אלה לא יצטרך מלך המשיח לעשות למען ייראוהו מהסתיר דבר למשפטי ושלא יזידון לעשו' את הרע כי הלא לאשר אמרתי משפטי לגוי׳ יוציא לא יצטרך לצעוק ולאיים ובקולי קולות כי הנה לא יצעק ואפילו לא ישא קולו ואפי' להשמיע בחוץ משפתיו החוצה קולו כי אם רוח שפתיו בנחת וזהו לא ישא כי לומר מה שאמרתי שלא ישא ולא ישמיע בחוץ הוא קולו כי את הקול הוא מה שאמרתי שלא ישא ולא ישמיע בחוץ וגם לא יצטרך השנית כי הנה קנה רצוץ הוא הרעוע בטענותיו לא ישבור למען הטיל מורא על בעלי מרמות וגם לא השלישית כי הלא פשתה כהה לא יכבנה. שהוא כדעת המתרגם ורש"י ז"ל פתילת פשתן דולקת שהולכות ליכבות ויהיה הנמשל לפי דרכנו כי האיש הנוטה למות ומבקש להענישו על אשר חטא שלא ישפטנו משפט מות להטיל מורא כי אם עונש הקל ממות לפי חמאו והמע' הוא שלא יצמרך המצאות לשלא יסתירו ושייראו לבל יצא משפט מעוקל כי הנה הוא מאשר רוח אלהים בקרבו מעצמו לאמת יוציא משפט וזהו לא יצעק כו' קנה רצוץ כו' לאמת יוציא משפט ואם כן אחר שלא ע"י המצאות טבעיות כ"א בהשנחה יוציא משפט אם כן הטבתי אשר דברתי כי צריך היותו בחירי ולתת רוחי עליו ככל האמור ועדיין. היה מקו' לומר כי פל אמיתת משפטו בלי המצאו' כי אם בהשגחה הלא יהיה בהיותו שופט הוא בעצמו אבל להקנות בהם מדת משפט בינם לבינם במקומות אשר לא יהיה הוא מצוי שם חלא יצטרד לשבר מלתעו' עול יותר מכדי רשעתו ולהמית נפשות אשר לא תמותנה על חטאי' קלים למען יצא שמע משפטיו על כל הערים וישתמרו לעשו' משפט אמת אמר כי גם זה אינו צריך פי לא יכהה ולא ירוץ שהוא כדעת כל המפרשי'

שאומרו לא ירוץ הוא ענין רצוץ כאומרו לא ירוצץ עד ישים בארץ משפט כי בלעדי זה ישים בארץ כלה משפט בינם לבינם ולא מחמת יראה כי אם יערה עליה חשק ענייניו עד כי לתורתו איים ייחלו: "Behold my servant on whom I support myself; the king Messias, who from the abundance of his righteousness is a chariot for me; and this is what is meant by, on whom I support myself; for I have chosen him in preference to all the angels of my chariot: and he was mine elect from the time that my soul was well pleased with him; for before that he had any thing but a soul, even the very soul itself which I have, was well pleased with him, because by him it is perfected. Then, too, did I put my spirit upon him; that is, the spirit which cometh after the perfection of the soul. But, look ye, I did not design him to teach Israel judgment, nor to correct their doings; but, that he should bring forth judgment to the Gentiles: whilst Israel must needs be perfectly corrected before his arrival; seeing that all who remain in Zion, and that are left in Jerusalem, shall be called holy unto him. Moreover, should you ask, whether all this perfection can be necessary for the bringing forth of judgment to the Gentiles; take for answer, that he shall not bawl, &c. The man that is a judge, in order to bring forth judgment according to truth, is obliged to have recourse to schemes and inventions for the purpose of preventing fraud in a cause, by bawling at, and terrifying the adversary. Sometimes he pursues a second course, and that is, when he sees a person in whom there is any proof of baseness, he will sever him, in order that others may hear of it, and be frightened. So likewise, when he sees a person inclining to death, and meriting a punishment lighter than death; he will punish him, according to the iniquity of his trade, with the actual punishment of death; and will command him to be slain, in order to excite terror in the rest; so that they may hear of it, and be afraid. Nor does he entertain any scruple about taking him off, notwithstanding that he is not guilty of a capital crime; for he will justify his conduct by the plea, that he was the promoter of his own fate, inasmuch as he was already inclining to death. But the scripture informs us, that the king Messias, in order that people may be afraid to conceal aught towards judgment; or that they may not presume to perpetrate wrong. will have no need of any of those three devices. To perform what I have said, that he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles, he will have no occasion to use either bawling, or terrors, or exclamations; for look ye, he shall not bawl at all. nor even raise his voice; nay, nor permit his voice which proceedeth from his lips to be heard abroad; but only the breath of his lips with perfect

stillness. This is what is meant by, He shall not lift up; for the thing which I have declared, he shall not raise nor cause to be heard abroad, is his voice; his voice being the object which I have said, he shall not lift up, nor allow to be heard in the streets. Neither shall he be obliged to have recourse to the second expedient; for look ye, the bruised reed, that is, the man worsted in his arguments, he shall not entirely break in order to strike terror into those who may practise deceit: nor yet to the third; for the smoking flax, that is, according to the paraphrast and Rashi of blessed memory, the linen threads on fire, which are fast approaching towards extinction, he shall not quench. The thing intended by the simile, according to our way of interpreting it, is, that, when a man is inclining to death, and he desires to punish him for the sin which he has committed, he shall not, for the sole purpose of striking terror into others, judge him capitally; but according to the nature of his crime shall punish him with something less than death; and the reason assigned for it is, that to deter men from concealing aught from him, and from uttering any falsehood, so as to occasion a wrong judgment, he shall have no need of these devices; for behold, since the spirit of God is in the midst of him, he shall of himself bring forth judgment according to truth: and this is what is meant by, He shall not bawl, &c. the bruised

reed, &c. according to truth shall he bring forth judgment. Therefore, seeing that he shall bring forth judgment not by means of natural and ordinary inventions, but in a way that is supernatural; I have well spoken what I have spoken: as it is matter of necessity, that he should be mine elect; and that I should put my spirit upon him, according to what is here said. But still there might have been room for arguing, that all the verity of his judgment in a supernatural way without the ordinary schemes, would depend upon his being judge in person; and, that in places where he could not be present, in order that the report of his judgments might spread amongst the cities, and that they might be careful to execute true judgment, he would be compelled to break the iniquitous teeth, and for small faults to put to death souls which ought not to suffer death; the inspired author, therefore, goes on to say, that there will be no more call for this than for the other; as he shall neither faint nor faulter, that is, according to the sense of expositors, and the import of the verb, he shall not shake or stagger until he shall have established judgment in the world; for without resorting to that expedient, he shall establish in the earth perfect judgment between man and man; not by means of terror; on the contrary, he shall excite amongst them a desire of supporting his inter-

ests; for the very isles themselves shall wait for his law." By R. Menasseh ben Israel: * Hic Elias primo resurget, uti diximus, vel primus conspectui nostro reddetur: verum non erit in mundo resurrectionis, sed paulo ante adventum Messiæ. Ita enim inquiunt antiqui in Medras Soher Tob: אמרו ישראל בגאולה ראשונה כתיב שלח משה עבדו אהרן אשר בחר בו שלח לי אף שנים כנגדם שלח אודך ואמתך המה ינחוני אמר הקדוש ברוך הוא אני משלח שנאמר הנה אנכי שולח לכם את אליהו הנביא הרי אחד והב' הן עבדי אתמוך בו בחירי רצתה נפשי: (Dixit Israel, de prima redemptione, scriptum est, Misit Mosem servum suum, et Aaron, quem elegerat. Mitte nunc ad me quoque duos, similes illis, Emitte lucem tuam, et veritatem tuam: ipsæ deducent me ; dixit Deus benedictus, ego mittam : nam sic scriptum est, Ego mittam ad vos Eliam prophetam. Hic habes unum, de altero et secundo vero loquens, ait, Ecce servus meus, innitar ei, electus meus, in quo sibi complacuit anima mea.) Ex his locis comprobant antiqui, uti in populi redemptione ex Ægypto, duo legati fuerunt, ita in futura redemptione, sive resurrectione, duos futuros legatos, Eliam, et Messiam. "This Elias, as we have said, shall rise first, or he shall be first restored to our sight; but he shall not be in the world of the resurrection, only a little before the coming of the Messias. For thus say the ancients in Medrash

^{*} De Res. Mort. Lib. II. p. 154.

Sochar Tob. Israel said, Of the first redemption it is written, He sent Moses his servant, and Aaron whom he had chosen. Send now to me also two like them. Send forth thy light and thy truth; they shall lead me. The blessed God said, I will send them; for thus it is written, I will send you Elias, the prophet. Here you have one of them. But of the other, the second, speaking, he saith, Behold my servant, I will rest upon him; mine elect in whom my soul is well pleased. From these texts the fathers demonstrate, that as in the deliverance from Egypt there were two legates; so in the resurrection there shall be two legates, Elias, and the Messias." That we are authorised, then, by the Jewish church, to apply this prophecy to the Messias, the testimonies above quoted sufficiently demonstrate.

In ascertaining the sense of the terms we encounter no trouble. For whether by, his breaking not the bruised reed, nor quenching the smoking flax, we understand, with Jonathan and Kimchi, a tender regard for the rights of the poor; or, with Abarbinel and Alshech, some extraordinary discrimination in his manner of bringing forth judgment, is a matter of no moment; as either way we have a distinguishing characteristic of the Messias, and what perfectly coincides with what is affirmed of him in other places.

The prediction, it is evident, contains three propositions; that the Messias is the chief stay or delight of Jehovah; that his judgments shall be true and infallible; and that not the Jews only, but the Gentiles shall attend to his law.

CHAPTER XVI.

In the book of Jeremiah the Messias is foretold in a singular manner:* הנה ימים באים נאם יהוה ימים באים נאם יהוה ימים באים נאם יהוה ימים באין ומלך מלך והשכיל ועשה משפט והקימתי לדור צמח צדיק ומלך מלך והשכיל ועשה משפט "Behold, saith the מושע יהוה צדקנו; Behold, saith the "Behold, the days are coming in which I will raise up to David a righteous branch; and he shall reign a king, and do wisely, and shall execute judgment and righteousness in the earth. In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell securely; and this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness." This prophecy, I believe, is unanimously and without exception expounded of the Messias.

First of all it is expressly interpreted of him by Jonathan ben Uziel: הא יומיא אתן אמר יי ואקים לרוד משיח דצדיקיא וימלוך מלכא ויצלח ויעבד דין דקשוט חכו בארעא: ביומוהי יתפרקון דבית יהודה וישראל ישרי לרחצן ודין שמיה דיהון קרן ליה יתעבדן לנא זכון מן *xxiii. 5.

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"Behold the days are coming, :ידם יי ביומוהי saith the Lord, that I will raise up to David the Messias of the rightcous; and he shall reign the king, and shall prosper, and shall execute true judgment and rightcousness in the earth. In his days those of the house of Judah shall be redeemed, and Israel shall dwell securely; and this is his name which they shall call him, There shall be wrought for us righteousness from before the Lord in his By R. David Kimchi:* צמה צדיק זהו המשיח וקראו צמה שיהיה צאתו בעולם כצאת צמח השדה שהיא רבבה כן בהיות צדיק יהיו עמו צדיקים רוב העולם כמו שאמר יפרח בימיו צדיק ואמר והוכיח עמים רבים: ומלך מלך אמר הכפל להזק הפעולה כי בזכור הפעולה השם נזכר עמה ובזכור אחריה השם הוא לחזק כמו למען בצוע בצע ממטיר עליו מטר כל בוגדי בגד וכן ומלך מלך כי באמרו ומלך ידענו שהוא מלך ובהוסיפו מלך הוא לחזק המלכו' שתהיה מלכותו בכל הארץ לא בישראל לבד במו שאמר עליו ומשלו מים ועד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ: והשכיל הצליח וכת"י ויצלח וכן ויהי דוד בכל דרכיו משכיל ואחרי' זולתו: בימיו וזה שמו אשר יקראו יי צדקנו יקראו ישראל יקרא המשיח בזה השם יי' צדקנו לפי שבימיו יהיה צדק יו' לנו קיום תמיד לא יסור וזו חקריאה על דרך הקריאה שקרא משה רבי' עליו השלום למזבח יי' נסי וקרא יעקב למזבח אל אלהי ישראל כל אחד לפי ענינו הנמצא בו וכן ושם העור מיום יי' שמה וית" דיהוויין קרן ליה וגו' " Righteous branch; this is the Messias. : כבעמוד He is called a branch, because his coming forth in the world shall resemble the coming forth of a

^{*} Com. in loc.

branch in the field, which keeps waxing great. So for the reason that he is righteous, the chief part of the world shall be righteous along with him; as the scripture saith, In his days shall the righteous flourish; so again, And he shall rebuke many peoples. And he shall reign a king; he employs both words to enforce the expression: for on the verb being used, the noun is implied; and that the noun is actually expressed after it, is merely for the sake of emphasis, as in the construction, To gain gain, Raining upon him rain, All the perfidious in perfidy; so here, And he shall reign a king: for by the declaration, that he shall reign, we know, that he shall be a king; and on his superadding, a king; that is to corroborate the kingdom; as his kingdom shall be not only in Israel, but throughout the whole earth; for the scripture saith of him, And his rule shall extend from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. And shall do wisely, that is, shall prosper; and thus Jonathan has paraphrased it, And he shall prosper: so also, And David was wise, that is, was prosperous, in all his ways; not to mention other instances where the verb has the like signification. In his days: And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness; they shall call him, that is, Israel shall call the Messias by the name of, Jehovah our Righteousness; because in his days the righteousness of Jehovah shall be per-

petually with us, never more to depart. This appellation is of the same complexion with that by which our Rabbi Moses, peace be upon him, calls the altar, Jehovah Nissi; and whereby Jacob calls the altar, The God, the God of Jacob; each according to its respective signification. So likewise, And the name of the city from this day is, Jehovah its name. The targum of Jonathan is, Which they shall call him, &c. as in the column." By R. Isaac Abarbinel:* כי הנה בענין המלכות הודיע שיהיה מבית דוד וזרעו ימלוך על כולם וזהו והקימותי לדוד צמח צדיק כי יהיה יציאתו במלכות כיציאת צמח השדה מתחת לארץ ולא יהיה צמח רשע כמו יהויקים ובנו וצדקיהו אלא צמח צדיק וזהו על דרך מה שאמר ישעיהו ויצא חוטר מגזע ישי ובאומרו ומלך מלך ביאר שלא יהיו בישראל חלוק מלכיות כי מלך אחד ימלוך על כולם וכמ"ש ישעיהו ונחה עליו רוח ה' רוח חכמה ובינה כן אמר ירמיהו ומלך מלך והשכיל וכמ"ש ישעיהו ושפט בצדק דלים וכ'ו כן אמר ירמיהו ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ וכ"מש ישעיהו ביום ההוא יוסיף ה' שנית ידו לקנות את שאר עמו וגו' ואסף נדחי ישראל ונפוצות יהודה יקבץ כן אמר ירמיהו בימיו תושע יהודה וישראל ישכון לבמה שהם שתי המלכיות יהודה וישראל ועוד הוסיף ירמיהו לבאר כאן מה יהיה שמו באומרו וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו וכבר זכרתי בשאלות כמה מהקושי יפול בקדושת מלך המשיח ולא שום בריה אחרת בשם ה' אל עולם כי הוא השם הנכבד הוא הנקרא שם המפור' לפי שלא ישתתף בו זולתו ואיך יקרא שם המשיח בזה השם והמפרשים אמרו שמלת יקראו חוזר

^{*} Com. in loc.

לישראל שהוא יקרא את המשיח כן ושמשה רבינו קרא את המובח ה' נסי ויעקב קרא למובח אל אלהי ישראל וכן ברברי הנביא יחזקאל על ירושלם ושם העיר מיום ה' שמה ואין זהו היתר לספק כ"א תוספת זרות בכל שאר הפטוקי" שוכר וראוי לבקש בהם פי' נכון וימ" שלא היה שם המשיח אלא צדקנו בלבד לא שם ה' ויהיה פי' הפסוק וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' כי הוא יהיה אז הקורא אותו בשם צדק:ו והיותר נכון בעיני הוא שלא אמר הנביא שיהיה שם המשיח לא ה' צדקנו ולא צדקנו בלבד אבל שיהיה שמו צמח צדיק כמ"ש ועל אותו שם אמר וזה שמו ר"ל צמח דוד אשר יקראו ה' צבאות שהוא צדקנו כי הוא יקראהו בשם ה' ר"ל צמח צדיק והותרה בזה השאלה הד': "For look ye, with respect to the kingdom, he manifests that it shall be of the house of David: and that his seed shall reign over all of them. This is what is meant by, And I will raise up to David a righteous branch; for his going forth in the kingdom shall be like the going forth of a branch of the field from beneath the earth. He shall not be a wicked branch like unto Jehoiakim, and his son, and Zedekiah; but he shall be a rightcous branch. Something similar to this we meet with in Isaiah, where he says, And there shall come forth a rod from the stem of Jesse. Moreover, on his affirming, that he shall reign a king, the inspired penman clearly shews, that there shall be in Israel but one kingdom; and that one king shall reign over the whole. And as Isaiah says, There shall rest upon him the spirit of Jehovah,

the spirit of wisdom and understanding; so Jeremiah says, He shall reign the king, and do wisely: and as Isaiah says, He shall judge the poor in righteousness, &c. so Jeremiah says, He shall execute judgment and righteousness in the earth: and as Isaiah says, In that day the Lord shall set his hand a second time to recover the remnant of his people, &c. and shall collect the outcasts of Israel, and assemble the dispersed of Judah; so Jeremiah says, In those days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell securely; that is to say, the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Moreover, Jeremiah proceeds to explain here what his name shall be, saying, And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah our Righteousness. Now in the question premised, I have already observed several of the difficulties, which fall in our way, with respect to the holiness of the king Messias; and that no other creature is ever called by the name of Jehovah, as it is the glorious name, and is denominated the name to be kept separate; because it is communicable to none besides himself. How, then, is the Messias to be called by this name? The expositors tell us, that the words, they shall call him, refer to Israel, who are to designate the Messias by this name; that our Rabbi Moses named the altar, Jehovah Nissi; and Jacob named the altar, The God the God of Israel; as also, that in the words of the

prophet, Ezekiel, respecting Jerusalem, we have, And the name of the city from this day is Jehovah its name: but we are by no means at liberty to furnish and bring together, as is here done, the several texts dispersed in various parts of scripture, which are themselves of a strange complexion, and of which the true sense requires yet to be ascertained. But others there are, who affirm, that the name of the Messias is only, Our Righteousness, without any thing more; not Jehovah at all; and that the meaning of the scripture is. This is his name which Jehovah shall call him; for it is he who shall then designate him by the name of, Our Righteousness. To me, however, it appears much more probable, that the prophet neither means, that the name of the Messias shall be, Jehovah our Righteousness; nor yet, Our Righteousness, by itself; but that is name shall be, Righteous Branch, as the scripture saith; and this is the name which he means when he says, And this is his name, namely, the Branch of David, which he shall be called by the Lord of hosts, who is our righteousness; for he shall call him by this name, that is, by the name of, The Righteous Branch: and thus is dispatched the fourth general question." By R. Moses Alshech: * הנה ימים כו' הנה אומרו מלך הוא מיותר והיה די בשיאמר ומלך והשכיל כו' וגם אומרו והשכיל יר' מיות' כי * Com. in loc.

איך יעשה משפט וצדקה בלי השכלה וכן מלת בארץ מיותר' כי שם שם הם המשפט וצדקה ועוד אומרו וזה שמו איזה ייחש יש לשם זה אצל מה שבימיו תושע יהודה כו' וגם מה צורך להודיע שיקרא לו שם זה וגם איזה הדרך הוא ה' צדקנו שאדרבא אליו יתברך יאות שם תואר זה ולא למשיח אך יאמר ענין מסורת בידינו כי דוד הוא משיח בגלגול ולא שיבטל גופו של דוד ותשתל כל רוחו בגוף אחר כי אם צמיחת חלק אור רוחו שבגופו הראשון הוא הנמצא במשיח וזה יאמ' והקימותי לדוד צמח צדיק כי יקים לו צמח שיצמח ממנו מרוחו שיהיה צדיק באופן שומלך מלך כי במלוך המשי' הוא כאלו גם דוד הוא מולך כאלו שני מלכים הם כאיש א' כי הוא הוא וזהו ומלך מלך שמלך מי שכבר היה מלך עם שהוא גוף אחר ומה שיתוסף לו על זמן שהיה דוד מלך עלהארץ הוא כי בתחלה היה דוד לכל דרכיו משכיל וכן עושה משפט וצדקה אך לכל עמו בלבד מה שאין כן בכל כללות הארץ וכן במה שהיה משכיל ומצליח לא בכל הארץ כי גם שהיה רצונו לכבוש כל העולם כאומרו ארדוף אויבי כו' עד כלותם לא עזבו ה' על דברת מה שאברהם מכרנו למלכיות כמאמרם ז"ל וירד העיט זה דוד על הפגרים אלו המלכיות אלא שוישב אותם אברם אד לעתיד מה שיהיה משכיל ומצליח וגם מה שיעשה משפט וצדקה יהיה בכל העולם וזהו אומרו והשכיל ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ שהוא בכלה ועוד יתוסף לו אז כי הנה בימיו האחרונים של דוד תושע יהודה כו' מש"כ כשמלך דוד כי גם שהיה מצליח לא נעדרה מורא מן פלשתים וזולתם ומלחמות ועל פי דרכו רמז באומרו בימיו לומר כי כאשר מלך בתחלה לא היה בימיו של עצמו כי אם מאדם הראשון או מאברהם ויעקב ויוסף כאומרו הנה טפחות כו' אך לעתיד יהיו ימיו שלו בעצם וזהו בימיו תושע

יהודה כו' והנה ארז"ל אר"ש בר נחמני שלשה נקראו בשמו של הקב"ה צדיקים ומשיח וירושלים צדיקים דכתיב כל הנקרא בשמי כ'ו משיח שנאמר וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו ירושלים ושם העיר מיום ה' שמה כו' ואין ספק לכל א' מאלו היא על פי בחניתו כי ירושלים יהי' על שם כי אז לא בלבד שכינה תשרה בה כי אם גם השם חגדול וצדיקים הוא על שיעשו נפלאות אשר לא יעשה אותם בלעדי ה' ומשיח ה' צדקנו לומר על ע"י שפע צדקו וכשרון יושפע לישראל מן השמים ויהי' המשיח כצנור שיורק בעצם בו וממנו יתפשט בכל העם וזהו ה' צדקנו לומר כאשר ה' משפיע צדקית לבא ליטהר ומה גם לטהור כך המשיח ידמה לו ית' ויקרא שמו ה' צדקנו כי ממך ימשך צדקנו כאשר מה' ושיעו' הכתוב עם היות שבימיו תושע יהודה וישראל ישכון לבטח עכ"ז לא יעשו עיקר לקרא לו שם על שם תשועת' ובטחונ' כי אם על שם הצדקות וכשרון הנשפע להם על ידו וזהו ה' צדקנו כי מזה יעשה האדם עיקר מכל טובות העולם הזה או יאמר וזה שמו כו' לומר הלא האמרת את צמח צדיק הוא משיח והלא אחר שהנביא ישעיה אמר כל הנקרא בשמי כו' שהצדיקים נקראים בשמו של הקב"ה אם כן מאי רבותיה דמלך המשיח מנייהו' כי אחר מעלה זו אין זולתו כמוה לזה אמר וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו שהוא כי הצדיקים יאמרו לו הנה אנו על שאנו צדיקי' שם ה' נקרא עלינו אך גדול שמך משמינו כי מה שאנו צדיקי' אתה הוא צדקנו שעל ידך אנו מושפעי' שפע ליקרא צדיקים וא"כ כל זכות הקרא אנו בשם ה' הוא בסיבתך כי אתה צדקנו נמצא כי מה שתקר' אתה " Be בחינה כוללת ועולה, על שלנו מאד: היא בחינה כוללת hold the days, &c. In superadding the term, Vol. II. BBb

king, after, he shall reign, there is a redundancy; as it would have been quite sufficient to have said, He shall reign, and do prudently. So in saying. And he shall do prudently, there is a redundancy; for how should he execute judgment and righteousness without prudence? So again, the expression; In the earth, is redundant; for there, and there only, can judgment and righteousness be performed. Besides, when he says, And this is his name; what relation has that name to the declaration, And in his days Judah shall be saved, &c. Nay, where was the necessity for making known to us at all, that he is to be called by this name; and what kind of an appellative can, Jehovah Our Righteousness, be; seeing that it may be objected, that this is a characteristic attribute which is predicable only of the Supreme Being, and not of the Messias? Now we are in possession of a tradition, that by transmigration David is the Messias; not that the body of David shall be wholly abolished, and the whole of his spirit be transplanted into another body; but that a germ of a portion of the light of his spirit, which was in his first body, will be that which shall subsist in the Messias; and this is what is meant by, I will raise up unto David a righteous branch; as there shall spring up to him a branch which shall spring forth from him, that is, from his spirit, which shall be righteous; so that there shall reign

the king: for on the Messias being king, it is the same as if David himself were king, seeing that these two are, as it were, one man; as he is he; and this is what is meant by, And the king shall reign, namely, that he who was king before, shall be king again; although he shall have another body. The reason, why there is to be an addition made to him, to the time that David was king over the land, is because, that, at the first, David was prudent in all his ways, and so executed judgment and rightcousness; but amongst his own people only, and not throughout all parts of the world. So likewise in that he was prudent and prosperous, was not with respect to the whole earth; for though his wish was to subdue the whole world, according to what he himself says, I will pursue my enemies, &c. till they be consumed; the Lord did not allow him, because Abraham had sold us to the kingdoms, agreeably to the saying of our fathers of blessed memory, That the bird of prey, which is David, alighted upon the carcases, which are the kingdoms; but that Abraham drove them away: whereas in future, in that he shall be prudent and prosperous. as well as in that he shall do judgment and rightcousness, it shall be his case throughout the whole world; and this is what is meant by, He shall be prudent, and do judgment and righteousness in the earth, namely, throughout the whole of it.

But further, there shall be then an addition to him; for, behold, in his days, that is, the latter days of David, Judah shall be saved, &c. which was not the case when David was king; as notwithstanding his prosperity, the dread of the Philistines and others, and of wars, was not entirely removed; and according to his manner, the inspired penman intimates as much on saying, In his days, meaning, that when he reigned at the first, he was not in his own days, but was shorter lived than the first man, or than Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, according to what the scripture saith, Behold as a span in length, &c. whereas in future they shall be properly his days; and this is what is meant by, In his days shall Judah be saved, &c. Look ye, too, our Rabbies of blessed memory affirm, R. Samuel bar Nachman said; Three things are called by the name of Jehovah, the righteous, the Messias, and Jerusalem: the righteous, according to the scripture, Every one that is called by my name, &c.: the Messias, according to the scripture, And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness: Jerusalem, according to the scripture, And the name of the city from this day is Jehovah its name, &c. Nor can there be any doubt, that it is applied to each of these three things according to its signification: for Jerusalem shall be such, because at that time not the Habitation alone, but

the great name, also, shall dwell in it: and the righteous shall be such, because they shall perform miracles which none but Jehovah can perform; whilst the Messias shall be Jehovah Our Righteousness; that is to say, by means of the influx of his righteousness and equity there shall descend from heaven an influx upon Israel; and the Messias shall be as it were the channel through which it shall be properly poured out, and from him diffused amongst all the people; and this is what is meant by, Jehovah Our Righteousness; as though the scripture had said, Like as Jehovah causes an influx of righteousness unto that which is going to be purified, and which is even purified; so the Messias shall resemble the blessed Jehovah, and his name shall be called, Jehovah Our Righteousness: because from thee shall be drawn our righteousness, like as it is from Jehovah. The import of the passage is, that though in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell securely; nevertheless, they shall not thereupon proceed to give him a name in consideration of their salvation and security; but on account of the righteousness and equity redounding to them through his means; and this is what is meant by, Jehovah Our Righteousness; for from this blessing man shall have ground to designate him above all the blessings of the world. In other words, the scripture saith, And this is his name, &c.

that is, you have described the righteous branch, which is the Messias; and since the prophet Isaiah says, Every one called by my name, &c. that the righteous are called by the name of Jehovah; what then is the superiority of the Messias above them, seeing there is no title superior to that? To this he replies, But this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness; that is, the righteous shall say to him, Behold, as to our parts, in that we are righteous, we have the appellation of Jehovah; but thy name is far greater than our name; for so far as we are righteous, thou art our righteousness; because through thy instrumentality we have it infused into us so as to be called righteous; and therefore, all the right we have to be called by the name of Jehovah, is to be charged to thy account, as thou art truly our righteousness; for in that thou art called Jehovah, that is to be understood in a general and universal sense, and far transcending that in which it is applied to us." Such are the entire comments of Jonathan, Kimchi, Abarbinel, and Alshech; and as they are uncontradicted by any others that I have seen. I shall content myself with them as sufficient authorities for my applying it to the Messias.

In proceeding to define the terms of this scripture, there appears little or no ground for discrepancy of opinion, except only in the appellation of

the Messias; which in the version made use of is. Jehovah Our Righteousness. That this is the plain and literal sense of the passage, I have no manner of doubt; but because there are other illustrations and glosses propounded by writers of great eminence in the Jewish church, it is our business to inquire, what deference may be due to them. Some, as we learn from Abarbinel, have proposed to take, Jehovah, as the nominative case to the verb, shall call him; and, Our Rightcousness, by itself, as the title of the Messias. Now, though he mentions this opinion in such a way as to insinuate, that it had more patrons than one; yet have I heard of no expositor besides R. Saadias Gaon, who actually maintained it. He certainly did suggest to have the text so construed; but the notion was instantly rejected by Aben Ezra on the authority of the Masoretes; nor do I believe, that there is so much as one single Jewish expositor of celebrity, who has chosen to follow R. Saadias Gaon in his analysis of this part of the pasuk. The opinion of Abarbinel himself, that the, Righteous Branch, is the title of the Messias; and that, Jehovah Our Righteousness, is to be understood of the Supreme Being, and stands as the subject to the verb, shall call him; is still more absurd and destitute of foundation. It is wholly abhorrent from the use of speech in general to say, that this is his name which he shall be called, without expressly

declaring at the same time, what that name may be. To argue, that the, Righteous Branch, mentioned in the preceding pasuk, is the name alluded to, would be the most unpardonable folly. If, Righteous Branch, be really the name of the person; what have we, I would ask, for the person of that name? The term, branch, is but a personal metaphor for, son, or, offspring, the subject of the prediction; and we might just as well contend, that they shall call him, son, or offspring, as that the name of the righteous branch is the Righteous Branch, in the manner surmised by the illustrious Abarbinel. The fact is, that neither the one nor the other of these two notions is reconcilable to the plain sense of the scripture. They are both of them the inventions of men at a loss how to account for such magnificent and godlike titles being ascribed to the Messias; whilst they possess neither the sanction nor the support of the rest of their countrymen. In Bava Bathra, Medrash Echa Rabbatti, Medrash Tillim, and Medrash Mishlee, it is expressly handed down, that of the many names and titles of the Messias, Jehovah is one; a tradition which they bottom upon this very text of Jeremiah, that his name shall be called, Jehovah Our Righteousness. In Bava Bathra:* א"ר שמואל בר נחמני א"ר יוחנן ג' נקראו על שמו של הקב"ה ואלו הן צדיקים ומשיח וירושלים צדיקים הא דאמרן משיח דכתיב

^{*} Een Yaacob, Part II, fol. 89, col. 3.

וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו ירושלים דכתיב ושם "R: Samuel Nachmanides שמה: העיר מיום ה' שמה: said, R. Jeuchanan said, Three things are called by the name of Jehovah, and these are they; the righteous, the Messias, and Jerusalem. The righteous, according to what they say above; the Messias, according to the scripture, And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness; Jerusalem, according to the scripture, And the name of the city from to-day is Jehovah its name." In Medrash Echa Rabbatti:* מה שמו של מלך המשיח רבי אבא בר כהנא אמר ה' שמו שנאמר וזה שמו אשר יקראו ה' צדקנו דאמר רבי לוי טבא למדינתא דשמה כשם מלכה ושם מלכה כשם אלהיה מבא למדינתא דשמה כשם מלכה דכתי' ושם העיר מיום ה' שמה ושם מלכה כשם אלהיה שנאמר וזה שמו אשר "What is the name of the Messias? : יקראו ה' צדקנו Rabbi Abba bar Cahana said, Jehovah is his name, according to the scripture; And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness. For Rabbi Levi said, Happy is it for the province whose name is as the name of its king; and the name of its tking as the name of its God. Happy is it for the province whose name is as the name of its king, according to the scripture, And the name of the city from this day is Jehovah its name: and the name of its king as the name of its God, according to the scripture, And this is his

* Fol. 50, col. 1,

name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness." In Medrash Tillim:* למלך המשיח על שמו ומה שמו יי' איש מלחמה ומלד "And he יי' צדקנו: אשר אשר יקראו יי' shall call the Messias by his own name. And what is his name? Jehovah, a man of war. So the king Messias; And this is his name which they shall call him, Jehovah Our Righteousness." In אמר רבי הונא שמונה שמות אמר רבי הונא שמונה שמות נקראו למשיח ואלו הן ינון יי צדקנו צמח מנחם דוד שילה ואליהו ינון מנין שנאמר לפני שמש ינון שמו יי' צדקנו מניין שנאמר יי' צדקנו צמח מניין שנאמר הנה איש צמח שמו מנחם מניין שנ' כי נחם יי' ציון דוד מניין שנאמר מגדיל ישועות מלכו ועושה חסד למשיחו לדוד ולזרעו עד עולכם שילה מניין שנאמר עד כי יבא שילה אליהו שנא' הנה אנכי שולח לככם את אליהו הנביא "R. Huna said, לפני בא יום יי' הגדול והנורא: Eight names are given to the Messias, and these are they; Jinon, Jehovah Our Righteousness, Branch, Comforter, David, Shiloh, and Elijah. Jinon whence proved? From the scripture, Before the sun Jinon his name. Jehovah Our Righteousness whence? From the scripture, Jehovah Our Righteousness. Branch whence? From the scripture, Behold the man whose name is Branch. Comforter whence? From the scripture, For the Lord shall comfort Zion. David whence? From the scripture, Magnify the salva-

^{*} Fol. 16, col. 1. + Fol. 57, col. 1.

tion of his king, and working favour for his Messias, for David, and his seed for ever. Shiloh whence? From the scripture, Until Shiloh come. Elijah, according to the scripture, Behold I shall send to you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord shall come." Nor has either Jonathan ben Uziel, or Jarchi, or Aben Ezra, or Kimchi, or Alshech, or any other expositor that I have had an opportunity of consulting, deviated in construction from these testimonies of the fathers.

But though it cannot be denied, that Jehovah Our Righteousuess is the proper title of the Messias; yet it will not follow, that those who thus agree in its application, understand it in the same sense. R. Solomon Jarchi says: יי צדקינו יי׳ צדקינו יי׳ " Jehovah Our Righ- : מצדיק אותנו בימיו של זה teousness, that is, Jehovah shall justify us in the days of this personage." And with this gloss agree in the main both the targum of Jonathan and the comment of Kimchi. Now, though these illustrations do certainly fall considerably short of the full import of the text, and Abarbinel accordingly seems highly dissatisfied with them; yet it does not appear, that with the unitarian heretics of the Christian world they understood the phrase in the form of a proposition; as though its meaning were. Jehovah is Our Righteousness: for of this we have not the least intimation in any of their

commentaries. Indeed, the testimonies of the fathers would evince the impropriety of such a solution. In arguing from this text, that one of the names of the Messias is Jehovah, they preclude the chance of mistaking it for a proposition; not to mention, that to make out the eight names in the tradition of R. Huna, we are compelled to reckon, Jehovah, as one, and, Our Righteousness, as another; which is a further corroboration, that they did not take these terms as forming a proposition, but as standing in apposition.

But however defective the comments of other expositors may seem, that of R. Moses Alshech is a complete and accurate development of the sense of the title; and, therefore, in a gloss which has such exclusive claims to approbation, it would be highly criminal not to acquiesce. He adheres to the plain grammatical construction of the sacred text. The divinity, holiness, and righteousness of the Messias he fully admits. The appellations, Jehovah, and, Our Righteousness, are with him the true and legitimate titles of that glorious king: and have a meaning affixed to them in perfect conformity with their literal acceptation. Nor is he the only Jewish expositor who has thus unfolded to us the sense of the prophet. The gloss of R. יקרא Ioseph Albo is to the very same purport:** ויקרא הכתוב שם המשיח יהוה צדקנו להיותו אמצעי אל שנשיג

^{*}Sepher Ikkarim, Orat. 2, cap. 28; as cited by Buxtorf.

"The : הצדק מהשם על ידו ועל כן יקראהו בשם השם scripture calls the name of the Messias, Jehovah Our Righteousness; because he is the divine mediator through whose instrumentality we shall obtain righteousness from Jehovah; and for this reason it is, that he shall be called by the name of Jehovah." That this, therefore, is the genuine interpretation of the scripture, there can be no room to doubt; nor is it at all probable, that two such eminent writers of the Jewish church would have given it their sanction, if they had not known it to be the doctrine of the fathers: and though from the scantiness of my own library I am unable to produce more, I should not scruple to assert, that other authorities might still be found in support of the opinion. The question, indeed, so far as it relates to the character of the Messias, is of the highest importance; and I have been the more particular in handling it, because in the prediction before us it is the principal point of difference which we are concerned to determine

It must be superfluous to observe, that besides the acknowledgement of his divinity, and of his becoming the future author of all righteousness to man; the more generally received positions, that he should be of the lineage of David, that he should be the restorer of the houses of Israel and Judah, and that his judgments should be dictated in truth and equity, are in this, as in other places, expressly confirmed.

CHAPTER XVII,

In the prophet Zachariah the Messias is foretold in a great variety of places. That which follows is highly deserving of attention. גילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם הנה מלכד יבוא לך צדיק, ונושע הוא עני ורכב על חמור ועל עיר בן אתנות: והכרתי רכב מאפרים וסוס מירושלם ונכרתה קשת מלחמה ודבר שלום לגוים ומשלו מים עד ים ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ: "Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Zion; shout in triumph, thou daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy king shall come unto thee righteous and safe; he is poor, and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the son of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem; and the bow of war shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace to the Gentiles; and his rule shall extend from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." That this prediction is wholly inapplicable to any other character than that of the Messias, is apparent to the least discerning. By R. Moses Cohen, however, it has been expounded of Nehemiah; and by Aben Ezra of Judas Maccabeus: but with what propriety and success is not difficult to conjecture. Indeed the exposition of R. Moses Cohen is explicitly condemned by Aben Ezra; and that of Aben Ezra, as may be seen below, by R. Isaac Abarbinel; so that I myself am spared the trouble of specially confuting them.

In the first place it is applied to the Messias by the fathers in Bereshith Rabba:* זה מלך המשיח "This is the :שנאמר עני ורוכב על חמור וגומר: king Messias, according to what is said of him: Poor and riding upon an ass, &c." It is applied to him by Solomon Jarchi :+ הנה מלכך יבא לך אי איפשר לפותרו אלא על מלך המשיח שנ' בו ומשלו מים ועד " Be- : ים ולא מצינו מושל לישר' כזה בימי בית שני hold thy king shall come unto thee: it is impossible to interpret this of any other than the king Messias, according to what is here said of him, that his rule shall extend from sea to sea; there having been found no ruler of Israel answering to the one here described during the time of the second temple." By R. David Kimchi: מילי מאד בת ציון גילי מלרע זכר ציון וירושלם כי היא ראש המלכות: צדיק ונושע הוא צדיק יהיה ובצדקתו יהיה נושע מחרב גוג ומגוג נושע פתח שהוא עבר מוסב לעתיד מפני הו"יו: עני כמו עניו וכת"י ענותן וכן אמר בנבואת ישעיה לא יצעק ולא ישא קנה רצוץ ולא ישבור וגוָמר: ורוכב על חמור לא מחסרון שהרי כל העולם יהיה ברשותו אלא מענוה ירכב על חמור ועוד להורות כי לא יצטרכו ישראל לסוסים ולרכב לפיכד אמר אחריו והכרתי רכב מאפרי' וסוס מירושלם: ועל עיר בן אתונות כפל הענין במ"ש ועוד זכר עיר שהוא קטן בשנים כי הוא הנבחר לרכוב וכן אמר על בני אבצן רוכבים על שלשים עירים: בן אתונות ר"ל

^{*}Fol. 66, col. 2. † Com. in loc. ‡ Com. in loc.

בן אחת האתונות וכן ויקבר בערי גלעד באחת מערי גלעד: והכרתי וכן אמר בנבואת מיכה והכרתי סוסים מקרבך והאבדתי מרכבותיך וזכר מאפרים ומירושלם לפי שהיתה נחלקת המלכות בימים הראשונים אבל בימי המשיח יהיו אחדים: ודבר שלום לגוים ישלים בין גוי לנוי אם יהיה ביניהם מלחמה כי כל הגוים יהיו נשמעים אליו: ומשלו מים ועד ים פי' החכם רבי אברהם א"ע ז"ל מהים הדרומי הנקר' ים האדו' עד הים הצפוני שהוא ים אוקינוס: ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ מנהר היוצא מעדן שהוא בתחלת המזרח עד אפסי ארץ שהוא סוף המערב " Rejoice exceedingly, O: העולם: בכל העולם: daughter of Zion: גילי, rejoice, with a milra accent. He says, Zion and Jerusalem; because it was the metropolis of the kingdom. Righteous and safe: righteous shall he be, and in consideration of his righteousness he shall be safe from the sword of Gog and Magog: נושע, safe, with a Pathach; being a preterite, but converted into a future by the Vau. Lowly: as it were from affliction or his poverty; and so Jonathan paraphrases it by, ענותן, mild, or gentle. So likewise in the prophecy of Isaiah the scripture saith, He shall not exclaim aloud, nor lift up his voice; the bruised reed he shall not break, &c. And riding upon an ass: not from absolute want; for behold the whole world shall be under his controul; but in his extraordinary condescension he shall ride upon an ass. Moreover, to shew that Israel shall have no need of either chariot or

horses, the scripture therefore subjoins, And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem. And upon a colt, the son of asses; the same sense reiterated in different words. It particularizes the colt, which is less in age, as being the one chosen to ride upon; and so it speaks of the grandsons of Abdon as riding upon thirty colts. The son of asses; that is, the son of one of the asses: so we read, And he was buried in the cities of Gilead, that is, in one of the cities of Gilead. And I will cut off; so likewise it is said in the prophecy of Micah, And I will cut off the horse from the midst of thee, and will destroy thy chariots. It says too, from Ephraim and Jerusalem; because in the former days the kingdom was divided, whereas in the days of the Messias they shall be one. And he shall speak peace to the Gentiles; he shall make peace between one Gentile nation and another, in case there shall be any war betwixt them; as all the Gentiles shall pay him obedience. And his rule shall be from sea to sea: the exposition of the learned R. Abraham ben Ezra of blessed memory is, from the sea in the south, called the sea of Edom, to the sea in the north, called the ocean. And from the river to the ends of the earth; from the river that goeth out of Eden, which is in the farthest part of the East, unto the ends of the earth, which is in the extremity of the West; and thus will he rule over all the world."

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By R. Isaac Abarbinel: * עתה השיב השם לנביא על הטענה השביעית שהיו עושי' בני בבל כנגד בני הפקיד' והיא מאשר לא היה מולך עליהם מלך מבית דוד והשיבו כי אם יהיו בזמן פקידתם מטיבים מעשיה' ומתקרבים לבוראם כמו שהם יזכו לקבוץ אחיהם הפזורים כאשר ייעד כן יזכו למלוך עליהם מלך מבית דוד ובעבור שהיה ציון עיר דוד וירושלם עיר ממלכתו לכן אמר על זה נילי מאד בת ציון הריעי בת ירושלם כלומר שלא תהיה עוד שמרון צרתך כי אתה ירושלם תהיי ראש המלכות כולו ולכן ראוי שתריעי בבשורה הזאת תרועת שמחה וגילה ואמר הנה מלכך יבא לך ר"ל המלך האמתי שלך שהוא חוטר מגזע ישי הוא יבא לך לא כהן מזרעי אהרן ולא ממשפח' אחר' כ"א מלכד האמתי וכבר חשב הרא"בע כפי כוונתו המושחחת לפרש גם הפרשה הזאת על בית שני ופירש מלכך יבא לך על דעת ר' משה הכהן בנחמיה התרשתא שנ' בעורא עליו מלך ביהודה ולא קבלו הרב רבי אברה' בן עורא כי פחת היה ובימיו לא משלו יונים אבל קבל שנאמר על יהוד' בן חשמונאי שהיה גבר ובתחיל' ענינו היה עני ורוכב על חמור ובישראל לא היה סוס ורכב בהיותם תחת יון ותמהתי מהכוונה הרעה שעורה את שכלו כי הנה לא נקרא יהודה בן חשמונאי מלך כל ימיו כל שכן מלך מכונה לציון שהוא דוד שלכד את ציון ואם על החשמונים ניבא מה לו לאפרי' כי מלכות אפרים לא היה בבי' שני גם שיהוד' חשמונאי לא דבר שלום לכל הגוים ולא משל מים עד ים ולא נתקיים בימיו קשת מלכתי אפרים כי מלכות עשרת השבטים שנקרא מלכות אפרים לא שב עד הנה ושאר דברי הפ' כולם מכחישים דעתו תכלית ההכחשה ולכן הטיבו אשר דברו שהיה יעוד * Com. in loc.

הנה מלכך יבא לך לעתיד לבא והוא דעת רש"י והר' רבי דוד קמהי וכפי דרכ' ראוי שיפורשו הפסוקים כמו שאומר שוכר מתואריו של אותו מלך שיהיה צדיק ונושע ר"ל צדיק במעשיו ונושע ומצלי' במלחמותיו אבל לא תהיה תשועתו בגבור' הסוס ולא בשוקי האי' כי הוא יהיה בתחילתו עני ורוכב על חמור וגם אפש' לפר' עני מלשון ענוה כאלו אמר ענו וזכר שיהיה השלום כ"כ מתפשט בכל האומה עד שלא יהיה ביניהם סוס ורכב וזהו והכרתי רכב מאפרי' וסוס מירושלם ונכרתה קשת מלחמה לפי שלא יהיה צורך בישראל לא לרכב ולא לסוס וגם לא לאיש דורך בקשת גם שדרך העולם הוא שכל האנשים יקחו במנהגיהם משל ודונמא ממנהגי מלכיהם ומפני זה בראות כל ישראל את מלך המשיח עני ורוכב על חמור לא יהיה אדם עוד באפרים שהוא רמז למלכות ישראל י' השבטים ולא בירושלם במלכות יהודה שירצה לרכוב על סוס ורכב ועז"א והכרתי רכב מאפרים וסוס מירושל" ונתן סבה בזה באומרו ונכרתה קשת מלחמה ודובר שלום לכל הגוים כלומר שלא ירכב מלך המשיח על חמור לדלותו שלא יהיה לו סוס כי הוא ימלוך על כל כלי חמדה אלא מפני ענוונותו ולהורות שלא תהיה עוד מלחמה בארץ כי המלך הבוטח בה' בדברי פיו ישפות שלום בכל הגוים לפי שהוא ימשול מים עד ים וכן נאמר בספר תחלים וירד מים עד ים רל" מן הים הררומי הנקרא ים אדום עד ים צפוני שהוא ים אוקינום וכן ומנהר עד אפסי ארץ יפורש מהנה' היוצא מעדן שהוא הנהר הידוע ראש לכל הנהרו' והוא בקצה המזרח עד אפסי ארץ שהוא בסוף המערב לפי שהוא ימשול בכל העולם: "The Lord now replies to the prophet concerning the seventh objection; that the children of Babylon were doing like the children of the visitation, and

that, because there was not reigning over them a king of the house of David: and his reply to them is, that, if in the time of their visitation they would do good works, and draw near to their Creator, so that they might be deemed deserving of having their dispersed brethren gathered together again in the manner promised; so also would they be deemed worthy of having to reign over them a king of the house of David; and because that Zion was the city of David, and Jerusalem the metropolis of his kingdom, he therefore says of it, Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Zion; shout aloud, thou daughter of Jerusalem; as though he had said, Samaria shall no longer be thy rival; for Jerusalem shall then be the head of the whole kingdom; and, therefore, it is meet, that at this good news thou shouldst shout aloud in joy and triumph. He says, moreover, Behold thy king shall come to thee, that is, thy real king, the rod from the stem of Jesse, shall come unto thee; not a priest of the seed of Aaron, nor of any other family; but thy real and true king. Now, R. Abraham ben Ezra long since, according to his own erroneous views of it, attempted to expound this section of the second temple; and agreeably to the opinion of R. Moses Cohen has explained, Thy king shall come unto thre, of Nehemiah, the Tershatha, according to what is stated of him in the book of Ezra, that he. was a king in Judah. The learned Rabbi himself,

however, does not admit this exposition; because he was a governor only; and because in his days the empire of the Greeks did not exist: but he readily admits it to be meant of Judas the son of Asmoneas, who was a gallant man, and in the beginning of his career was poor, and rode upon an ass; nor was there in Israel either horse or chariot, forasmuch as they were reduced under the power of the Greeks. Now I cannot but wonder at the gross infatuation which must have blinded his understanding; for, surely, Judas, the son of Asmoneas, was never at any time of his life called a king at all, much less the king of Zion, that is to say, David, who had captured Zion. Besides, if he had been prophecying of the Asmoneans, what could he have had to do with Ephraim; as there was no kingdom of Ephraim during the second temple: not to mention, that Judas the Asmonean did not dictate peace to all the Gentiles, nor rule from sea to sea. nor was the bow of the kingdom of Ephraim established in his days; for the kingdom of the ten tribes, which was called the kingdom of Ephraim, has never yet returned to this day. Behold these and other considerations, arising from the text itself, prove his opinion to be highly erroneous; and consequently the generality of expositors are doubtless right in maintaining, that this promise, Behold thy king shall come unto thee, was to receive its accomplishment at a distant period; and such was the

belief of Jarchi as well as of R. David Kimchi. The verses, agreeably to the course pursued by me, may be interpreted to this effect; that amongst the attributes belonging to the king in person, it mentions, that he shall be righteous and safe; that is righteous in his works, and safe or thriving in his ways; but his safety shall not be by the might of the horse, nor the legs of man; for at his first commencement he shall be poor and riding upon an ass. It is possible, too, to derive the signification of, עני, poor, from, עניה, gentleness; as though it had said, אנו, gentle. It states, moreover, that peace shall be diffused throughout every nation to such a degree, that there shall remain amongst them neither horse nor chariot: and this is what is meant by, I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of war shall be cut off; for in Israel there shall be no need either of chariot, horse, or, archer. Because, too, the practice of the world is to copy the manners and fashions of their princes; when all Israel shall see the king Messias lowly and riding upon an ass, there shall no longer be a man in Ephraim, that is, in the kingdom of Israel or of the ten tribes; nor yet in Jerusalem, that is, in the kingdom of Judah, who will choose to ride upon horse and chariot; and, therefore, it saith, I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem; the

cause of which it subjoins by saying, The bow of war shall be broken, and he shall speak peace to all the Gentiles; that is, the king Messias shall not ride upon an ass by reason of his poverty, and because he will have no horse at his command, for he shall exercise full sovereignty over all precious things; but because of his condescension, and to shew, that there will be no more war upon the earth; as the king, confiding in the Lord, shall by the words of his mouth award peace amongst all the Gentiles; for he shall rule from sea to sea; as it is said also in the book of Psalms, And his dominion shall extend from sea to sea, that is, from the sea in the South, called the sea of Edom, unto the sea in the North, which is the Ocean. So likewise, And from the river to the ends of the earth, is to be interpreted, from the river that goeth out of Eden, the celebrated river, which is the chief of all rivers, in the confines of the East, unto the ends of the earth, in the extremity of the West; for he shall rule over all the world." By R. Moses Alshech: * נילי כאד בת ציון וכו' כי הנה מלכך הוא מלד המשיח יבא לך כי מצד עצמו אין לו עכוב כי צדיק ונושע הוא אך הוא עני כעני מממון שהוא מדבר שחוץ ממנו כך הוא עני מזכיות ישראל או במה ירכב ויסמך לנאלם הלא הוא על זכות יגעי תורה כחמור הוא יששכ' שהיה חמור גרם החכמי ומורי הוראות וגם על זכות תינוקות של בית רבן שהן הבל * Com. in loc.

שאין בו חטא וזהו ועל עיר בן רבותיו הנמשלות לאתונו׳ ועל ידי זכות תורה לא בחרב ולא בחנית ימשול בעולם וזהן והכרתי רכב מאפרי' וסוס מירושלכם ונכרת קשת מלחמה רק ודבר שלום לגוים ועם כל זה ומשלו מים עד ים ימנהר עד אפסי ארץ אך אין זה כ"א בזכות התור' כאמור: "Rejoice exceedingly, O daughter of Zion, &c. for behold thy king, that is, the king Messias, shall come to thee; for in respect of himself there is no cause of delay, as he is righteous and safe; but he is poor; like as he is poor in money who is without it, so is he poor in the merits of Israel. In other terms, upon what shall he ride, and support himself, in order to redeem them? Is it not upon the merit of those who study the law; as it were upon an ass, that is, Isachar, who was the strong ass; of the sages and the doctors; as also upon that of the infants of the school of Rabban, that is, of Abel, in whom was no sin? This is what is meant by, And upon a colt, the son of his Rabbies who are assimilated to she-asses; and thus by virtue of the merit of the law, not by the sword, nor by the javelin, shall he be ruler over the world. This likewise is what is meant by, And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of war shall be cut off; nor shall he do any thing but speak peace to the Gentiles; and notwithstanding this his rule shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth;

though, as hath been already said, it will be by the merit of the law only." These foregoing comments, varying, as they certainly do, in the elucidations of its parts, accord in the main point, in the application of the whole of the prophecy to the person of the Messias; which indeed is the true and necessary subject of the scripture, as might be still further corroborated by authorities from the Jewish church.

In fixing the signification of its terms, there is nothing, I think, which can fairly serve as matter of contention. It is of no manner of importance, whether the term, עני, be taken in the sense of, poor, or, gentle, or, afflicted; as these are properties and conditions very compatible with each other; and the more so, because it is on all hands agreed, that this lowliness of estate, so contrary to the pride of worldly potentates, was not to be the effect of necessity, but the voluntary act of his own extraordinary humiliation and unparalleled condescension. In the talmud, certainly, the term is opposed to, עשיר, rich; and invariably, I believe, signifies, poor. I cannot, however, forbear expressing my exceedingly great astonishment at the manner in which three of the most ancient and respectable versions, I mean, the Septuagint, the Targum, and the Vulgate, are found to render the participle, נושע ; which they severally do by, כשלשי, פרים, and, salvator; all de-

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noting a saviour, or one that saves; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that, in the Hebrew, the participle is passive, and signifies, safe, or, being saved. That the Messias was to bring salvation to his people, is the doctrine of the synagogue as well as of the church. The only dispute, therefore, which can arise from the authority of those versions is, whether upon the ground, that the original was once different from what it is now, and so to preserve the genuine sense of the scriptures, we ought to read, מושיע, saviour, instead of, נושע, saved; or, whether this latter form of the participle may not also have an active signification. To me neither of the suppositions appears probable; on the contrary, I think the expositors perfectly right in assigning to the participle a passive signification, which in this place agrees very well with the other circumstances foretold to accompany the advent of the Messias; as it is expressly declared, that he shall be righteous, yet poor and destitute of military defence; and, therefore, very properly the object of the protection of heaven.

In this prediction, besides his universal dominion which is here as elsewhere foretold by the prophets, it is fully and distinctly revealed, that his first appearance at Jerusalem should take place without either regal pomp, or worldly ostentation; and that the foundation of his kingdom should be established and confirmed not by the weapons of war,

which should then be destroyed and taken from his people; but by the authority of his name, and by the efficacy of his pacific spirit; two things, certainly, which particularly deserve to be considered in duly estimating the character of the Messias.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In the book of the prophet Malachi, his coming is described in the most forcible language:* הנני שלח מלאכי ופנה דרך לפני ופתאם יבוא אל היכלו האדון אשר אתם מבקשים ומלאך הברית אשר אתם חפצים הנה בא אמר יהוה צבאות: ומי מכלכל את יום בואו ומי העמד בהראותו כי הוא כאש מצרף וכברית מכבסים: וישב מצרף ומטהר כסף וטהר את בני לוי וזקק אתם כזהב וככסף והיו ליהוה מנישי מנחה בצדקה: וערבה ליהוה " Be- : מנחת יהודה וירושלם כימי עולם וכשנים קדמניות hold I will send my angel, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, and the angel of the covenant whom ye like, for certain shall come, saith the Lord of Hosts. But who will sustain the day of his coming; and who will stand, when he appeareth? For he shall be like the refiner's fire, and the washers' soap. And he shall sit as a refiner

and a purifier of silver; and he shall purify the children of Levi, and he shall refine them like gold and silver; and they shall bring unto the Lord the oblation in rightcourness. And the oblation of Judah and of Jerusalem shall be sweet unto Jehovah, as in the beginning of the world and in the years of old." The application of this prophecy to the Messias is sanctioned by the comment of Aben Ezra:* : יוסף: בן יותן להיותו משיח בן יוסף: האדון הוא הכבוד הוא מלאך הברית כי הטעם כפול: "Behold I will send my angel; which may be meant very well of the Messias ben Joseph. The Lord; that is, the Glory, the angel of the covenant, two expressions for one and the same thing." By that of R. David Kimchi: האדון הוא מלך המשיח יהוא מלאך הברית או אמר מלאך הברית על אליהו: "The Lord; that is, the king Messias, who is also the angel of the covenant: or, the angel of the covenant, may be meant of Elijah." By that of R. Isaac Abarbinel: ואפשר לפרש הנני שולח מלאכי ופתאום יבא ונו' שאינה תשובה לתלונתם וטענתם אבל שהקדים להודיעם מה שיהיה באחרית הימים כדי להוכיחם על פשעיהם ואחר כך בפרשה חזקו עלי דבריכם זכר אותו ספק ואותה טענה עצמה שעשו כדי להשיב עליה ושיהיה ענין הכתובי' האלה שבאחרית הימים יעשה הקב"ה שתי פליאות עצומות האחת והיא היותר גדולה תחיית המתים והשנית קבוץ הגליות ועל התחייה אמר הנני שולח מלאכי רומז לאליהו הנביא שיבא בתחילת התחייה כמו שיוכו'

^{*} Com. in loc. + Com. in loc. + Com. in loc.

אח"ז שהוא המלאך והשליח המיוחד לפניו יתברך ועל גאולת העם אמר ופתאום יבא אל היכלו האדון אשר אתם מבקשים שהוא יהיה מלך המשיח והוא יהיה מלאך הברית שישים ברית שלום בארץ ונתן על כל אחד מהם משפטים אם על מלך המשיח דסמיך ליה אמר ומי יכלכל את יום בואו שהוא יום המלחמה העצומה מחרבן האומות וחבלי המשיח לישראל ועל אליהו ראשון הקמים בתחייה אמר ומי העומד בהראותו לפי שכאשר יקומו המתים יבהלו בני אדם מפניהם ומי שיעמוד באותו ההראות המבהיל וזכר שכל אחד מאלה ישוב פעם אחר פעם להיות מצטרף ומטהר "It is possible, too, to expound, : הפושעים והמורדים Behold I will send my angel, and the Lord shall suddenly come, &c. not as being any answer to their murmurings and objections; but as something premised to inform them of that which shall take place in the latter days, so as to reprove them for their transgressions. Below, indeed, in the section, Your words are too strong against me; he makes express mention of that doubtfulness and reasoning which they had employed, so as thereby to be induced to render them an answer. Thus then the sense of those words will be, that in the latter days the Lord shall achieve two stupendous miracles; the one, and that indeed the greater of the two, the resurrection of the dead; the other, the gathering together of the captivities. In respect of the resurrection he saith, Behold I will send my angel; alluding to Elijah the prophet, who shall appear at the beginning of the

resurrection, according to the mention which is afterwards made of him, that he is to be the appropriate angel and legate before the Lord. But of the redemption of the people he saith, And the lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; that is, he who shall be the king Messias; and who also shall be the angel of the covenant, who shall establish the covenant of peace in the world. He will award judgments by both of them, seeing that what is immediately subjoined he saith of the Messias, But who shall abide the day of his coming, that is, the day of battle, more terrible than the devastation, the signs and the troubles of the Messias, unto Israel: whilst of Elijah, the first of those who shall rise from the dead, he saith, And who shall stand when he appeareth; for when the dead shall rise, the children of men will be troubled because of them; and who is he that shall stand at the sight of the troubler? He likewise mentions, that each of them shall return time after time to be a refiner and a purifier of the transgressors and the rebels." comparing the above expositors it is observable, that they understand the same things differently; but this, instead of being an objection to our manner of applying the prophecy, is an argument in its favour. If Aben Ezra can fitly interpret the angel promised to be sent, of the Messias ben Joseph, but both the Lord of the temple and the

angel of the covenant, of the glorious presence; if Kimchi can interpret the angel promised to be sent, of an angel of Jehovah, but the Lord of the temple of the Messias ben David, and the angel of the covenant likewise of the Messias ben David or of Elijah the prophet; and again, if Abarbinel can interpret the angel promised to be sent, of Elijah the prophet, but both the Lord of the temple and the angel of the covenant, of the Messias ben David; then have we fair and legitimate grounds for arguing, that any or all of these titles may belong to the Messias; and that whatever may be thought of the preparer of the way; at least, the lord of the temple, and the angel of the covenant, are but so many names for one and the same person. This I firmly believe to be the sense of the scripture. It is true, indeed, that R. David Kimchi, relying on the apparent authorities of the fathers, seems partly inclined to expound, the angel of the covenant, of the prophet Elijah; but if we call to mind, that, in the tradition of R. Huna, Elijah is said to be one of the names of the Messias, and that Malachi is quoted in support of that tradition; it surely will not follow, that in case the fathers should have any where made mention of Elijah as the angel of the covenant, they did not intend thereby the Messias ben David; but rather the contrary, and that with them the same individual was equally understood by either of these

designations. Be that as it may, the language of the prophet authorises no other interpretation. It is not said, that, they, but that, he, shall come; not that, they, but that, he, shall sit as a refiner and a purifier; not, who will abide the day of, their, but of, his, coming; not, who will stand, when, they, but when, he, appeareth; nor is there throughout the whole of the prophecy the least intimation given of more persons than one whose appearance should be so terrible to the wicked and

impenitent.

The awful threatenings here denounced against the transgressors have led R. Moses Alshech, and most other Jewish expositors, to understand the day of his coming, of the final day of judgment, when the rebels shall be punished, and the righteous shall receive the full recompense of their labours; and certain it is, that many parts of the description accord very well with our just apprehensions of that fearful event. Nevertheless, if we inspect the prediction more narrowly, we shall find it connected with circumstances which preclude the possibility of resolving it in that manner. The Lord was to come to his temple, which existed for some centuries after this prophecy had been delivered, but does not exist now; and when he came, he was to purge the priesthood, and to cleanse the ministry of the sanctuary, which surely cannot be understood of the day of judgment; for

then there shall be not a mere reformation of the Levitical service, but the restitution of all things, and every man shall be rewarded according to his works. This prediction, therefore, if to be accomplished at all, must have begun to receive its accomplishment long since; and that this is the fact, will be rendered clear and satisfactory, when we have arrived at that stage of the work, where we shall undertake to unfold the fulfilment of the prophecies.

I have now brought together all the testimonies of scripture which more remarkably describe the dignity of the Messias. Those which remain to be alleged, are such as testify of his atonement, and of his ascension into heaven; and of these, if God permit, the last volume will be found to furnish a competent variety. In the interim it may not be amiss to recapitulate, that in the prophecies already produced, and in the targums and glosses relating thereto; besides the antiquity of his fame, the perpetuity of his praise, the universality of his dominion, the adoration of his person, and many other attributes incompatible with a mere mortal; he is declared to be from above, to be capable of imparting from his lips the spirit of prophecy, to be miraculous in his counsels, to know the very inmost recesses of the human heart, to be free from sin, to be the vehicle or chariot of Jehovah in preference to any angel, to be Jehovah in the more eminent

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acceptation of the term, to be the author of all righteousness to man, to be the mediating God, to be the angel of the great council, to be the angel of the covenant, and the lord of the temple. But these titles and prerogatives are celestial and divine. They can agree with no other than the *Metatron*, the second personality of the godhead; and, therefore, the *Metatron* and the *Messius* are one and the same person.

END OF VOL. II.

ERRATA.

Jod for Vau in אוסס p. 71, l. 11. Daleth for Resh in אוסס p. 72, l. 25; in המשור p. 133, l. 4; in אוסס p. 133, l. 27; in p. 72, l. 25; in אוסס p. 223, l. 9; in אוסס p. 225, l. 15; in אוסס p. 234, l. 5; in אוסס p. 234, l. 14. Zain for Vau in אוס p. 128, l. 11; in אוסס p. 229, l. 12. He for Cheth in אוסס p. 131, l. 22. Gimel for Nun in הדעונים p. 131, l. 25. Teth for Shin in שמטו p. 132, l. 18. The final Mem for Samech in אוסס p. 148, l. 26; in אוסס p. 352, l. 2. Aleph for Shin in אוסס p. 227, l. 19. Cheth for He in אוסס, 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 22. The particle, p. 353, l. 10. Caph for Mem in אוסס p. 391, l. 28. The particle, p. 381, l. 28.





